On the Religion of the Tujen of the Sining Region (Koko Nor)
[Zur Religion der Tujen des Siningebietes (Kukunor)]

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[The bibliography appears on pp. 2-4 of the original text.]

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First Part: The Religious Customs

1. Introduction*

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*The designations (1), (2), (3), etc. do not appear as footnotes in this work, but as independent subsections, and each time under the heading "Notes." Cf. p. 17 [of the foreign text] in this chapter. [In the translation these notes will be incorporated as footnotes; hence the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) will be eliminated.]

1. The Name of the Tujen

101 In the European literature the people of the group under consideration are usually called Tujen (Turen, T'ou-jen, T'u-jen). This is also the name usually given them by the Tsinghai Chinese. Tujen means native, man of the place. The Chinese t'u signifies place, soil, earth; jen signifies human being, man, people. The Chinese have given them this [5] name because at the time of their immigration these people were already present. They also apply this name to other peoples of the frontier region, for example, in Szechwan; no ethnic designation is expressed by it. This should not be taken to mean, however, that the Tujen are in fact the first inhabitants [114] of that region, as P. A. Volpert has done; cf. Volpert, "Etwas über die T'u-yen, Ureinwohner Westkansus [Something about the T'u-yen, the original inhabitants of West Kansu]," (Anthropos, 18/19, 1923/24). According to their tradition, they likewise immigrated, but before the Chinese.

For the rest, the following names are also used: Dalden, Dolden, Daldy (Przewalski; Grum-gržimajlo, and others); furthermore, Dchiahour (Huc and Gabet); Kansu-Mongols, Mongols of Kansu (De Smedt and A. Mostaert); Monguor (De Smedt and Mostaert). A. Mostaert would like to derive the

[*5 cont.*]

101 word "Dalden" from the Mongolic "Golot," with which the Mongols designate the Tujen; cf. Mostaert, *The Mongols of Kansu*, p. 84; DMF, p. II (1).

The Tujen refer to themselves as *Moṅġol* *kun* (Mongolic people) or *tsiġan* *Moṅġol* (White Mongols) in contrast to the other Koko Nor Mongols, whom they call *xara* *Moṅġol* (Black Mongols). The name Monguor, introduced by P.A. Mostaert, goes back to this self-designation; the dialectal variant set down by him pronounces the *l* like *r* and has a slight *u* sound before the open *o*. The neighboring Tangut use the name Karlaṅ for the Tujen, which evidently is of Tibetan origin. In the geography of the sMin-'Gyur (Min-chu)-Hutuktu, written in Tibetan, the Tujen tribe is called rGya-Hor, pronounced Dyahor, which is thus the same designation as that used by Huc and Gabet. Even today this expression is still in use among the people, who render it with the crude Chinese word *tsa-chung* (mixed seed), bastard.

All these names have given rise to various explanatory theories, which do not belong here. No designation is entirely unambiguous. The nearest to this might be Chiahor and Monguor, but since Tujen is the commonest, this name will be used here. The most suitable, however, would be to adopt the self-designation of the Tujen: White Mongols.

2. The Distribution of the Tujen

131 The principal area of distribution of the Tujen in the present Tsinghai Province lies south of the Richthofen Mountains, that is, in the triangle formed by the Sining and Taitung rivers. The heart of this triangle is formed by the northern side valleys of the Sining River, namely, the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan, the Ha-la-chih-kou, the Hung-nai-tzu-kou, and the Shui-mo-kou. Almost the entire region belongs to the town Huchu, which is located in the upper reaches of the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan. Aside from the county of Huchu, the Tujen are settled predominantly in the county of Minho, and in smaller groups in the counties of Lotu, Tatung, and Kungho. The Tujen themselves call the area they inhabit Amdo (Tibetan). Their total number cannot

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[5 cont.] Their total number cannot
161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rĕgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

> 1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114
648 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen. European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

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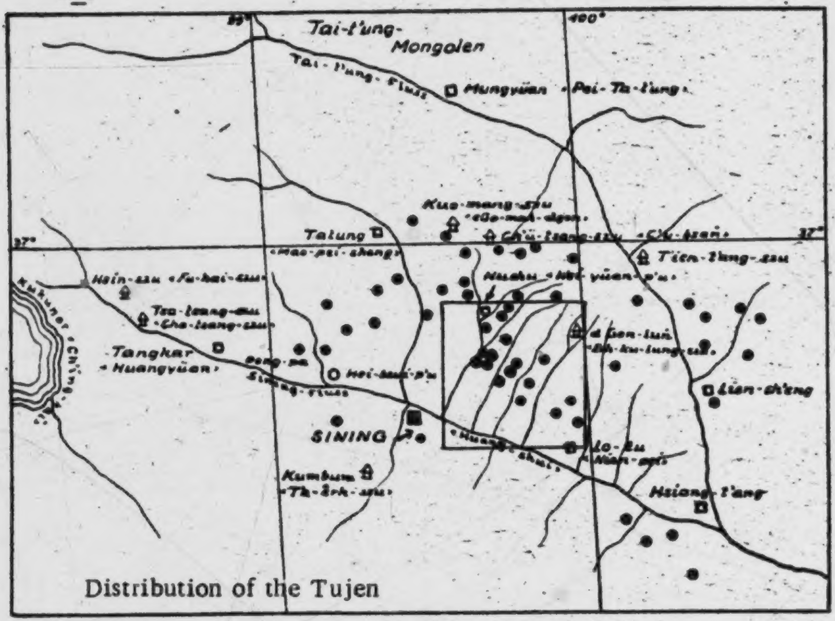
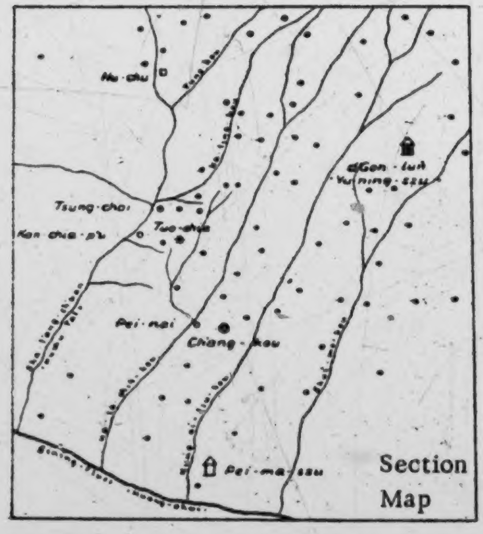

99°
Tai-t'ung-Mongolen
Tai-t'ung-Fluss
Mungyüan
Pei-Ta-t'ung
100°
Kuo-mang-szu
dGo-mań-dgon
Talung
Mao-pei-shang
37°
Ch'ü-tsang-szu
Ch'ü-tsań
T'ien-t'ang-szu
Hsin-szu
Fu-hai-szu
Nienhu
Hsi-yüan-p'u
Tsa-tsang-szu
Cha-tsang-szu
Kukunor
Ch'ing-hai
Tangkar
Huangyüan
Pang-pu
Hei-tsui-p'u
Sining-Fluss
dGon-luń
Erh-ku-lung-szu
Lien-ch'eng
SINING
Huang-shui
Lo-tu
Nien-pei
Kumbum
T'a-ĕrh-szu
Hsiang-t'ang

Distribution of the Tujen

From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.


Hu-chu
Tsung-chai
Tuo-chia
Kan-chia-p'u
Pei-nai
Ch'ang-kou
dGon-luń
Yu-ning-szu
Pei-ma-szu
Sining-Fluss
Huang-shui

Section Map

- ⌂ Monastery
- □ Chinese towns
- ○ Chinese villages
- ● Tu-jen settlements
- ✱ Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- ◉ Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCaṅ-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- ⌂ dGon-luṅ, Êrh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rĕgulõṅ (Rgulõn).

[7 cont.]

114 648 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is unnecessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 797 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P.A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[8 cont]

114 [197] Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region, which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 [177] When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 123 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject, the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to
the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers
Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention
here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly
thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor
steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home,"
about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the
mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to
Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from
[103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced per-
haps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been
destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the
temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They
[166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where
[423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later
one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and
cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the
monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo
family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of
about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to
the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since,
however, according to my own observations and the statements
of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite
uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended
farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These
[628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are
extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers
approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region,
an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger
[776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and
[553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
[553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout
the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed
in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform
everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker,
overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is
asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old
Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors.
[871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors,
local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the
Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows
the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to
whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He
himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable
number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain,
as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly
the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply
115 been lost. --He does not speak the language of the Koko
191 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if necessary.
Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with
the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuomang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old
man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to
visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the
way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he
came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about
the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared
in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After [181 273] all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with [273] me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the [262] afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only at certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] [572] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]

114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the
autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion
of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore
incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dic-
tated only songs. At another time the old man told me about
the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks;
then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed
away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a num-
ber of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other
Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable.
Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite,
the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it
not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the posi-
tion: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he
would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do
not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led,
and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me
about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he
exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his com-
patriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate
in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his
opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and
such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing
anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if
old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This
was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I
was once able to observe from my room without being noticed,
it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father
says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the
truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[12 cont.]
115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long
run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed
whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards
himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and
had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that
the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the
Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the
Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred
to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that
occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I
tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not
laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part,
this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the
same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive
attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if
he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he
may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And
when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe
such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any
attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew
little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They
always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that
we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything.
If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day
he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?"
I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot
be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus
he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In
the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw
how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

[12 cont.]

115 171 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too, had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense, had consecrated water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us. [609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 123 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satisfactory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things, I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[13 cont.]

123 115 [888] view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man. For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger . . . "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 124 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age. He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and
all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen
women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

124 The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to
126 me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
114 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words
128 the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress
192 of this first part excessively conveys my European technical
terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is
177 not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or
[198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man designated
177 the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher language"
[198] or "literary language," a value that he did not accord
[186] Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be generalized
for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[779] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the
official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and
the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings
give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the
basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable
extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only
when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular
customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic
considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the
popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs,
casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which
has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual
realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104 The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[16 cont.]

104

Consonants

	Laryn-gals	Velars**	Medio-gutturals**	Pre-gutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	Ģ Ȥ	G k'	y	Ȥ ṣ DŹ ts	ś D́Ź tś'
A	h	g̣ x̣	g kh	y	ž š dž tšh	š́ d́ž tš́

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ṅ n m
M	D t' s DZ ts'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ṅ, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** g, g, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "tś," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of dźia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104
197

Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the DMF, Ģar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

[192]

[17 cont.]

104 192 The "f" is always bilabial before "u" and popularly acts as bilabial for the Tibetan initial "b" in loanwords, for example, fdzaṅ (incense) for the Tibetan bsaṅs. Furthermore, it is to be observed in the case of Tibetan loanwords that the silent consonants of the written language are usually pronounced.

104

Vowels

S	i	ü	ē	ę	ë	ä	a	ō	o	u
M	i	ü	ę̄	ę	e̬	ä	a	ų̱	o	u
A	i	ü	e̱	ę̱	e	a̤	a	o	o̱	u

The nasals are "ã," "ẽ," "õ," "ä̃." They usually occur in conjunction with "ṅ." A line over a vowel indicates lengthening. The diphthongs "ie," "iä," "ia," "iu," "io" are always rising. There is only one falling diphthong, namely, "ou"; "ō" is always given for this because the "u" is scarcely audible. The murmured vowel "ë" represents a special case. In everyday speech it is often difficult to determine in the case of lightly accented syllables whether it is "i," "e," "u" etc., especially in case endings. Thus in the text this "ë" will occasionally be found for "i" and along with the univocal "i" of the nominative or accusative or for the "u" of the dative, etc., for example, morë along with mori (horse), or morinë along with morini (of the horse), or tieṅgërdë along with tieṅgërdu (to the sky), etc.

As the transcription for Chinese, that of Wade-Giles is used, for Tibetan that of Grünwedel with modifications, for Mongolic that of Unkrig.

[Pages 17-18 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

000

1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, sooth-
787 saying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit."
It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the
[264] family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and
bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying
[782] is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre-
sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning
throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes
[783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth.
Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted
[788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times.
He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[18 cont.]

Details

791 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who
787 seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not
[756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is
756 different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.] Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

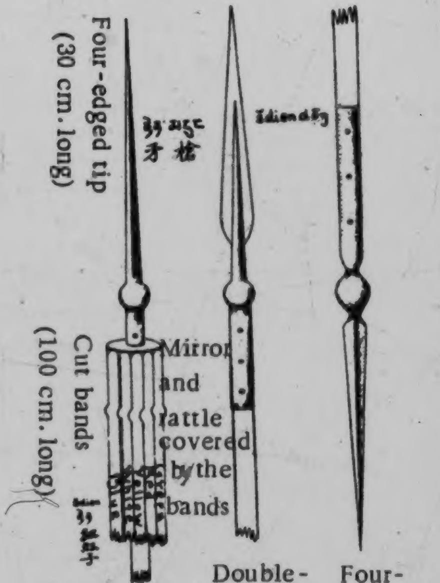
The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[19 cont.]

791 [787] prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word list that follows.]

*778 787 [532] 10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,


Four-edged tip (30 cm. long)
矛 槍
Cut bands (100 cm. long)
Mirror and rattle covered by the bands

Ornamental spear of the soothsayer from Erh-ku-lung-szu

Double-edged tip

Four-edged foot

(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[19 cont.]

*778
787

[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.] and the spirit litter, called chiao-chiao-tzu in Chinese. They, too, are provided with bells, colored bands of cloth, and metal mirrors, and are consecrated by the lama or by shamans. The "black tiger" is usually regarded as the spirit-table god, and the mother-goddess, Chinese niang-niang, as the spirit of the litter. Both the table and the figure of the goddess [Fig. 2 appears here] bear intestines together with the genitals. -- The table is not to be conceived as a table, but rather as a symbolic imitation of the animal figure with four legs and rump, which is further confirmed by the added intestines. Whereas in the case of the spirit-spear only one person addresses the spirit, in the case of the litter and the table there are several men. Two men hold the table between them, one seizing the front legs and one the hind legs. During the petitioning a man plants himself in front of them, and, depending upon the answer, the table begins to shake, jump, rear up, retreat, etc., without the two men being able to do anything against it. It is the same with the litter, which is borne by four men on their shoulders. Here a man likewise stands in front of the goddess and petitions her, and, depending upon the answer, the litter shakes on the bearers' shoulders, drives them forward, backwards, in a circle, etc. The men maintain that they are

[776]

787

[19 cont.]

787 [Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.] not master over their movements, so strong is the propulsion.

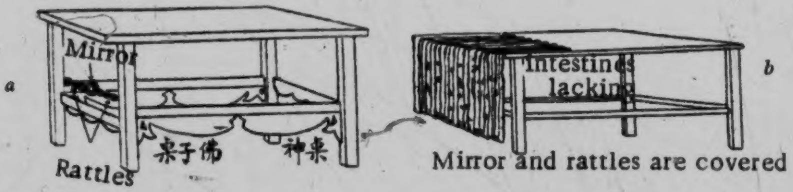
With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. [791] To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five [53] sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the [787] bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purġan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purġan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make
[562] it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter,
[463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter
[783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his
[782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with
[322] [326] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then
[782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in
[788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image,
[322] [326] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special
ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the
bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary
little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One
[792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated
at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 792 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be consecrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha. Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the
[782] household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before
the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In
front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little
burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley,
wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in
[783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-
[792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt
mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration.
Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little
plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear
with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in
front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells
this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and
the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one
spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tieṅgëre or the god of heaven
never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary
spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the
mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into
the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a
spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the
case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is
regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it
stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the
many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall
in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a
special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are con-
structed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand
in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor.
All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance,
one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the
spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no
spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard.
It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through
another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer
[791] determines in what part or on what side of the main house
it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict separation
[783] from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one
may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to
the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also
enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean.
There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may
not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man
pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is
a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion
of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have
died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If
someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is
unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially
*[778] may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When
this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again;
there is no special purification ceremony (1).

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[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.] special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.] This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.] šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.]
and sënisial (silk threads). These Tibetan names are sacred, whereas in profane speech the silk is called turġuo and the threads šdadzë. For the use of šdien, cf. also the chapter, "The Animal Consecration," Note 4.

To explain the Tibetan loanword šdien, the old man wrote the Chinese sign kung-fêng, "to worship, to consecrate." In order to consecrate an object, to set it aside for the gods and make it especially worthy of worship, one should tie a band to it. Later on, so he said, the whole object, the figure, etc., was called šdien, as well as the bands and thread which made the spear sacred. The DMF (p. 371) explains šdien: "piece of red or yellow material that is put on the idols to worship them, on men or on animals to consecrate them to the gods or to preserve their life" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. rten, "visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?) "[cited in English]. This explanation, which comes from another Tujen informant, agrees almost entirely with that of the old man. He only noted in connection with it that not only red or yellow bands, but also those of various colors could be used, [24] although one would not attach them to human beings. Red seems to be the most important color, however, as is apparent from the Chinese name hung-hung-tzu, "the red."

šdien is derived from the Tibetan rten; for further details see the following chapter, "The Gurtum," and Part Two. Here it

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.] should only be noted that šdien (rten) in the narrow sense signifies "to contain, content," that is, seat of the spirit. In the broader sense one can accept the above explanation and translate it generally as "the consecrated, the sacred," etc.

- dzën = Tib. 'dsin = "to hold, carrier." Ch. Das does not have the combination rten 'dsin, but on p. 1053 he gives similar compounds, for instance, rdo rje 'dsin: "the holder of the vajra" [cited in English]. šdiendzën has thus been rendered quite accurately by the informant as "carrier of the sacred; the one holding the consecrated."

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Spirit-spear: šdiendõṅ (5); dõṅ (Tib. loanword) = conch, sublime, white, pure.
purġān = god, spirit, demon.
fo-yeh (chin.) = Buddha-Father (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 24.] When the informant here identifies the doṅ in šdiendoṅ with the Tibetan duṅ (conch), it is a rare case of an incorrect explanation by him. The phonetically similar doṅ, to be sure, has the meaning of "conch, pure, white, sublime" (cf. the chapter, "The Incense Offering"), but here it is none other than the Tibetan mduṅ, "lance, spear," in which the initial "m" is silent. Nasalized "u" is always changed into "o" among the Tujen. The Chinese tien-tung (spirit-spear), which likewise

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.] is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan, This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792] The word purġan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha."

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sënisial (Tib.?) (4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅguor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅġuor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzăndän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
Sandalwood: dzăndăn mõdë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].
[824] Mountain ash: ġadani yärgë mõdë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[22 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: ṡdien kāṅ (Tib.) - holy house.

[23]

192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
787

3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

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787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

*778 [23 cont.]

192 Spear: sdzida (6).

[41]

6. [Foreign text p. 24.] The ordinary spears (sdzida) have disappeared from among the people. Only sporadically does one still see rough pikes which the farmers take with them into the mountains in order to keep the wolves away.

Spear tip: tolgue = head, tip (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 24.] The spirit-spears vary greatly in form and ornamentation. There are spears that are over two meters long, and some of only one meter. Most of them probably approach an average of two meters. Beautif[illegible]y cut bands hang on a number of spears, for instance, on the temple-spear of the soothsayer of Êrh-ku-lung. On other spears they are attached in disorderly and random fashion. Of the spear forms mentioned above, the four-edged tip is the most common. The foot looks almost like the tip itself; it may be edged or round. Two-pronged tips also occur, but the informant does not consider them as effective as the other forms. -- If the spear breaks, the shaft is burned. The new shaft in turn receives the iron parts of the old one. If the iron parts break, they are worked again for another spear. The new

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzẽ (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuġdẽ = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgān tolġue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: ġuran bulõndẽ tolġue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõndẽ tolġue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: ġuran salā̃ tolġue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purġan, šdiendõn) bōdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzẽn bōdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bōdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purġan bōdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bō- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõn or purġān) and sgurdien. bō- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

192 [Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
787 surroundings. To him everything is
756 in a state of excitement and trembling.
791 After the trance he is exhausted and has
to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-sooth~~saying there~~ is the expression šdien (šdiendõń) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõṅladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dżuo- and dõṅ- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27]

2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

756 The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the
787 sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always per-
*[778] forms his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary
deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned
[792] how to do it, he goes to a lamić monastery. There he is tested
to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
293 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
*778 or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
[171] the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their
tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it,
which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders.
It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly
this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman
rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and
has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has
a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is
sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-
cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth
292 of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red
bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew
five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is
thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the
little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down
over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the
back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they
then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[27 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 32 cont.] special forehead-band with the little bells. -- The crown is not always necessary. The images found on the five prongs are supposed to be determined by the tutelary spirit. I have also seen crowns that bear no images, but only Tibetan signs.

The crown bears five Buddha images or five death's-heads or other signs. -- The articles of clothing are procured by the shaman himself. There are also certain prescriptions as to how they are to be treated.

756
*778 [28] The equipment: The shaman must always have a sword. It is the seat of his tutelary spirit. The sword is usually two-edged. It has no colored bands. The handle is made of wood. The same rules apply for the making of the sword as for the spirit-spear. The sword is wrapped together with the crown inside the red headcloth and is placed upright in the house on his household altar. He burns incense and kowtows in front of it (1).

1. [Foreign text pp. 31-32.] In this kind of shamanism the sword seems to be essential.

It was impossible to find out in what way the sword is the seat of the tutelary spirit. It may be that it is constantly the seat of the spirit, but perhaps it is so only temporarily. The question is the same as in the case of the spirit-spear. The fact that the bands, the mirror, and the bells are often lacking argues against a permanent seat. On the other hand, one also finds swords that are provided with these. -- I once saw in a Chinese temple the sword of a deceased shaman, which

[28 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.] was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

[484] Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which [532] usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

[28 cont.]
756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

[411] 2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[789] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his
[782] garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other men who also blow the conch (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]

752 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front
[576] of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he
speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now
[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the
demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance,
for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit],
the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must
first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense.
The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter
[562] the room in which the trance takes place.

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[29 cont.]

756 787 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone
[562] thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a
quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc.
In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of
which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in
[792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once.
*[778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself conse-
crated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this
756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from
their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy,
[158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
787 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
792 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with
*778 special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13), slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning
his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purifica-
[783] tion prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during
this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

756 before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the
787 sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with
792 this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books,
the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

*778 Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and
[783] head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada, or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

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8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There
[184] are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.] to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the soothsaying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

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The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

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The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

[782] The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
[792] from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
776 the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a *mani*-tree, but he may set up an ordinary *mani*-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open
[31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bõ, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bȭdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to exc[illegible] the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ġsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo šguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[31 cont.]

192 756 *[778] The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

> 12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõṅkuor: Tibetan skyoṅ = protection, 'k[illegible] = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõṅkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mălõṅ (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolǧue bãṅladzin = the head covering.
pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõṅguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudaġ sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33]

791

3. The Bon Priest*

> * See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 292 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to represent long hair.

---

[792] 1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulōn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

[177] 2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 778 534 [789] Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute. Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. --The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away [789] unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

791 778 534 [Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 [789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine. [787] For soothsaying, however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. [755] There are also Bon priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35.] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

192 791 Shepherd-Bon: sënoğsa (snağsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kãṅgergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sẽnoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan sṅags pa = sorcerer; sṅags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic ḍamaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombõra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kãṅgärgẽ.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

792 [35]

4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792
[778]
The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

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Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

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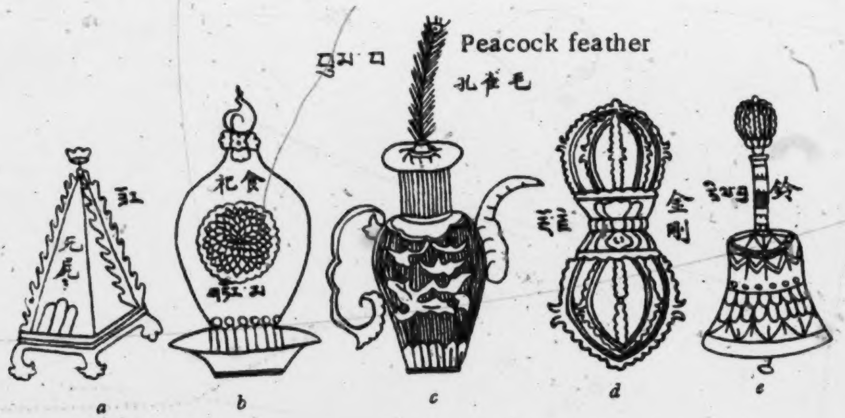
Fig. 3



[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 796 574 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
574 sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods
[262] baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his
ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table
is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They
[492] also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu
[492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
574 side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on
[535] alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain
574 prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest
room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men,
then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778 Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3), and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus, I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

[534] [354] [532]

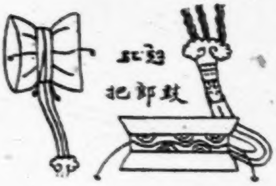


Fig. 4.

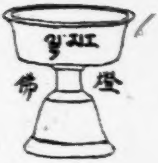


Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

[38 cont.]

792 to the animals (2).

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[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning šdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name baliȟ among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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> [Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.] torma that at the conclusion of the tšam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.
>
> Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to entertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
465 in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbŏ̄, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

[262]
[782]
4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

792 [39 cont.]

796 [Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
465 the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the
[262] master of gifts, who had sacrificed
[782] this sheep, had the flesh cooked and
a piece served to each of the monks in
the temple during a pause in the prayer.
It is therefore not surprising that the
lama receives a loin of mutton for his
fee. Since the Tujen, however, do
not sacrifice a sheep in the presence
of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The
Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter
of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the
same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great
[782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery
during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts.
During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks
with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in
[788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to
pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive
alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea
for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial
[272] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they
also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this
[354] time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig.
6 appears here.]

792 Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is cere-
796 monially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense
offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies
574 take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with
a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into
the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]
792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the recep-
796 tion. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
574 gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers.
[465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of
the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

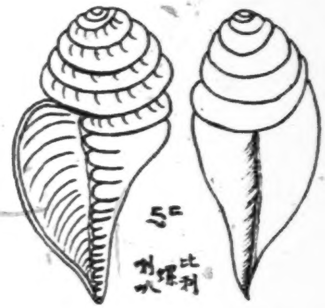

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]

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[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.] rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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Lama:	lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect:	ge͠loṅba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect:	fulan lama.
Great lama:	šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama:	mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6):	sãṅ (10); šge sãń = great H.; mula sãň = small H. huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the kãnbō. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this

[778] Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself,

[775] in other words, also for the incarnations

[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purġan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sãṅ or sãṅrē̈-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sãṅ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sãṅrē̈dzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dãṅwu: Tibetan dań po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdžänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzõń: Tibetan ts'em bzań = cloth good. -- dõṅsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosē̈: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192	Lama-reception:	lama ndziala.
792	Lama blessing:	ndziărgān (Tib.) - in rows.
796	First fetching:	ġdzŏ đãñwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].
574	Second fetching:	ġdzō̆ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].
	Third fetching:	ġdzō̆ ġdzāmba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].
192 262	Tsamba bowl with buttered slices:	simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].
796	Little plate with baked goods:	sētoġ.
	Sugar candy:	ping-t'ang (Chin.).
	Apple:	hai-t'ang (Chin.).
	Nuts:	ho-t'aȯ (Chin.).
	Dates:	sa-tsaȯ-ê̆rh (Chin.).
	Dry curds:	tsūra (Tib., Tuj.).
	Oil sticks:	san-tzu (Chin.).
	Filled loaves:	taġur.
	Oil pies:	yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).
192	Speech hada:	sidā̆r (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].
796	Red cloth (which one presents to the lama):	sā̆ndzō̃ṅ (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].
	Grain with money:	mbō̆.
	Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep):	ndžuā̆n.
[778]	Torma:	šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].
	Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.:	dō̃ṅsār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].
	Butter-lamp:	lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].
[778]	Holy water-can:	wumbā̆ (Tib. loanword).
	Peacock's feather:	k'un-ch'ŭo-mao (Chin.).
	Thunderbolt:	dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534]	Hourglass drum:	ndarē̆.
	Mani-string:	mani.

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[351] [Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

000 [43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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[356]
[783]
[515]

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
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> [Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the [788] house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 [592] [562] Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[192] [177] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãñ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

[44 cont.]

782 372 Offerings: The fire[1] need not be taken from the hearth or from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 824 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).

> 3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

[778]

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[1] [i.e. the fire for the morning offering — ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus, it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies. [783]

[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but
[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the
[263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color;
therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than
the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant
[439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop.
[824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.]
Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot
[262] be imagined without tsamba. They
[252] roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.),
that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain,
and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-
[171] grain flour is eaten exactly as among
the Tibetans (Fandse). After the con-
[264] sumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48]
kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loanword, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.] "evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond [177] extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are [824] never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

[44 cont.]

782 is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The
192 Incense Offering." This flower has a
824 strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A. Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

782 They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the
824 consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves, saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley
782 wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

[44 cont.]

782 wine, however, but "libation" (6). Nevertheless water is always superior. It must be pure, from a well, a spring, or a river. Standing water, for instance, that from a kitchen tub, may not be drawn by anyone, however pure it might be. The water is sprinkled into the fire with a cypress twig (10).

6. [Foreign text p. 48.] The informant observed that "libation" is otherwise only called tusa; only in the case of the incense offering would one say tsiab. The rite implies, however, that it is not a matter of a libation at all. Drink-offerings are always poured on the ground. Here, however, the water is sprinkled on the fire; in addition, in this case water is preferred to all other liquids and is regarded as the purest and most superior. This requires a different interpretation. As a loanword, tsiab corresponds to the Tibetan c'ab. Ch. Das (p. 409) explains c'ab: "water in any form; but not used like c'u to signify a river" [cited in English]. He further mentions sna c'ab as water with which the monks moisten their tongues before starting a religious ceremony, in order to purify themselves, which is approximately the same as the above-described purification before the incense offering. [783] In other words, the tsiab is nothing other than a purification of the fire by sprinkling it with water. Later the people came to think of it as an offering and used milk and wine for it. Nonetheless, the awareness has remained that it should really be water.

[44 cont.]

782 10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors.
The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk
threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each
[556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand,
merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will
last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet.
It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not
534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces-
[439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dŏ̄ṅ is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan duṅ; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] "trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõṅgẽ pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the çonch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nǖ, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

[171]

The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left~~, as~~ is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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183 All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen. [262]

782 Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8). [776]

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9). [782]

[587]
[796]
[782]
9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[45 cont.]

783 [Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
372 this purificatory effect, however,
782 but also the incense itself. This is
shown by its name, "purity-wood,"
and by the use of bsaṅs as a verb,
which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316),
means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited
in English]. For this reason incense is
also scattered in the water with the red-
hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for
cultic purification.

Word List

192	Cypress tree:	šgua sdziõdzë (3) [see Note 3 above].
782	Cypress:	šgua.
[824]	Cypress incense:	fdzāṅ (šdzãṅ, dzãṅ, sãṅ) (Tib. loanword).
	Tsamba offering:	fdzãṅ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
	Tsamba (profane):	talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa:
Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash;
Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley
flour.

ġlu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the
dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There
[824] are four kinds, of which the black and
the white are the best. The white
[757] Angelica is used against sickness from
the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is
called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and
ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši =
Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum =
[824] saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel
(rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[45 cont.]

192
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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib.
ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin.
ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib.
dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur:
Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor
(Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlē) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].
Känba flowers: känba.
Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzãṅ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].
Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].
Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].
Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].
Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].
Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].
Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

192 [46]
782 Milk (profane): suṇ.
Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].
[534] Conch: dõṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].
Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërë mudie.
[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

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142
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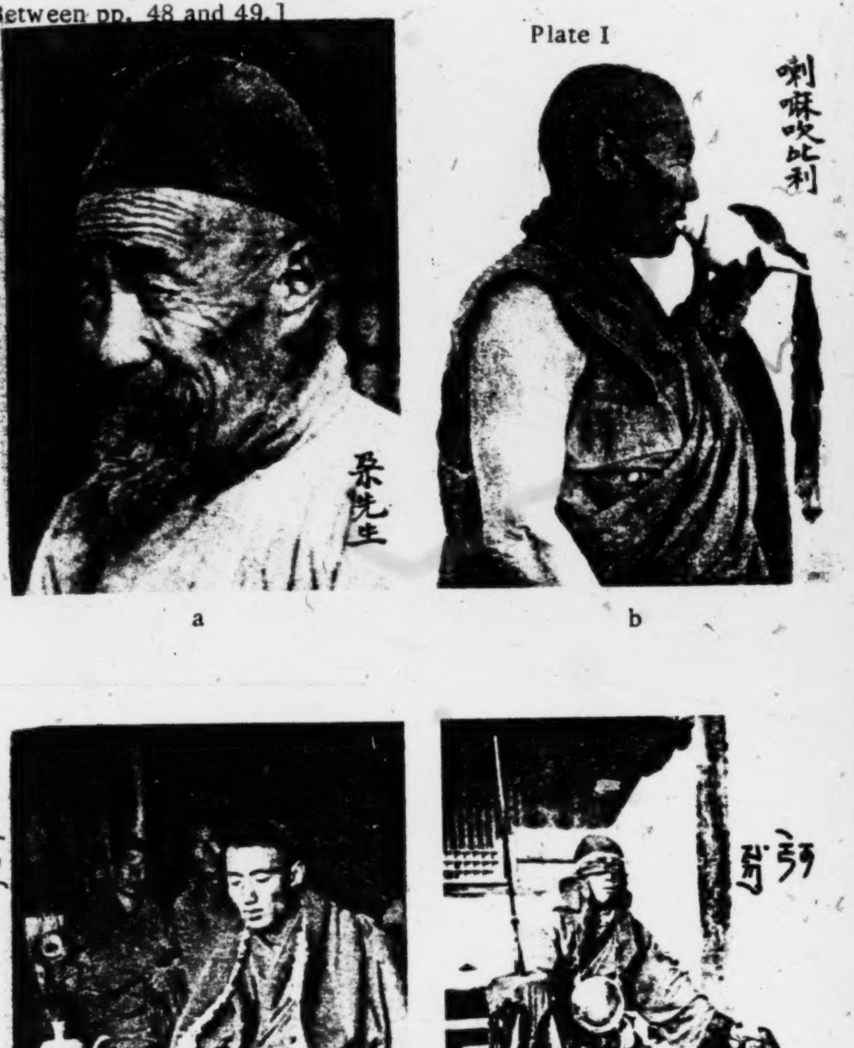

a

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d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

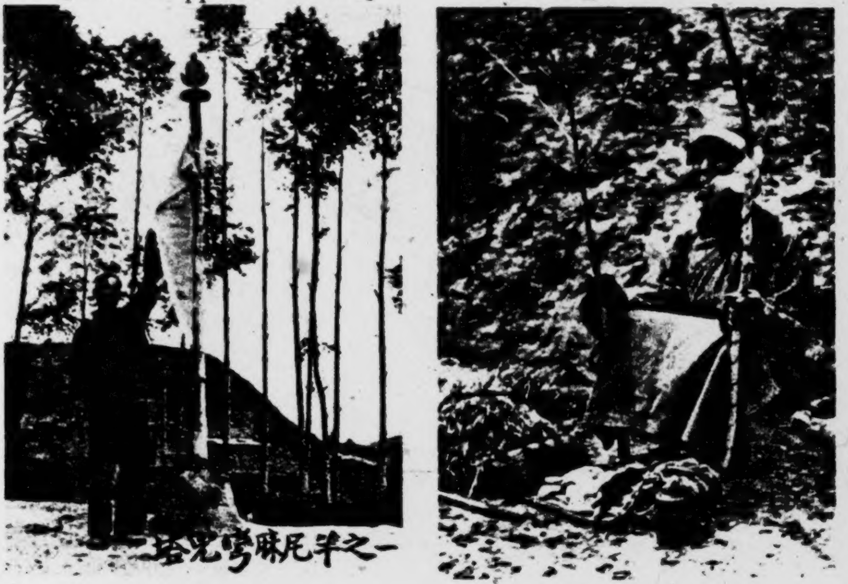
Caption for Plate 1.

115
142 a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
291 in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
302 of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guămbasoma) in the vicinity
534 of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
292 Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
782 background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
778 szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* 778 the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
292 wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.] Plate 2

137
*778
291
782



a b

*778
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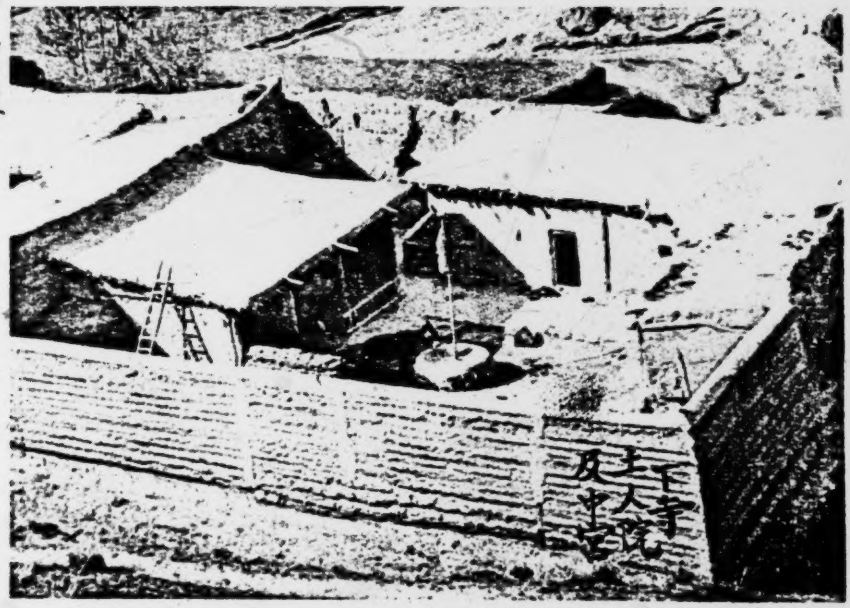

(Caption on following page.)

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778

[137] [291] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

[782] b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342] [351] [417] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353 *778 [792] [777] In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

/

[50 cont.]

Details

777

*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

[411] [171] 2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen. [178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep
wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated,
a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair
[432] is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold
some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be
tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with
[852] which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow
that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. --
When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow.
Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the
hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away,
is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[51 cont.]

777
*778

[114]

[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.] from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer"[iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yañsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. [585] Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also
always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of
the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama
stays until the following morning.
[527]

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the
[585] spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

[1] [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[51 cont.]

777 5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this
*778 statement, although the consecration,
787 beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely,during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back
[432] as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

192 6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One re-
777 ceives differing information among the
*778 people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-chʻuan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

[52 cont.]

192 777 *778 [Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g, yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g, yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g, yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g, yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." [822] White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

777 *778 585 Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

[52 cont.]

777 *778 585 [Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g. yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

171 777 *778 [832] The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

[52 cont.]

171 [Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
777 they keep the ornaments and mementos
*778 of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has de-
[585] scribed them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising
[177] since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal ani-
[533] mals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yañ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yañ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although vari-
[825] ous animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

777 If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yañsdzia: It bears
*778 within it the germs and origins of the
[772] gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

[52 cont.]

777 [Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
*778 perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and
the seeds, together with the other treasures,
more with earth. The arrow represents
the connection of the two (heavenly
[772] post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits
in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic
world-picture with the world mountain
and the individual realms. Cf. for instance,
the representation in the mountain torma
at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all
of creation is put in miniature on a
mandala. A germinally pre-formed world
which maintains the actual, large world
through its vital power is always fundamental.
-- It would be interesting to pursue
these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even
the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu
are connected with them.

The arrow of good fortune and the customs
connected with it have passed into
Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic
monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere.
The most important ceremony is
the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug).
This ceremony is reported in detail in F.
Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147),
where further details concerning the
Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be
found, but this does not belong here. Only
[585] one parallel with the popular custom
among the Tujen should be mentioned,
where Lessing describes the procession
with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146):
"After this interlude, the procession continues
its way and finally returns to Hall II.
They have absorbed all they can the elixir

[52 cont.]

777 *778 585 [Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] or vital forces (*rasayana*, Tib. *bcud len*, Mong. *sime*, *shime*) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

777 *778 [192] The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is *furie*; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. *furie* is the Mongolic *ūre* (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like *sime*, to the Tibetan *bcud* in *bcud len*. *len* signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and *bcud*, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word *yãn* is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression *bcud-len*, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "*sa-yi bcud*, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

[52 cont.]

Word List

192
777 Arrow: sēmu.
Arrow tip: timurdē.
*778 Arrow feathering: sēmu fodie.
Arrow of good fortune: yãṅsdzia (1) (6) [see Note 6 above].

1. [Foreign text p. 52.] yãṅsdzia: Tib. g, yaṅ = good fortune, mda' = arrow. yãṅdžēw: Tib. g, yaṅ (the same), skyob = to protect. An offering to guarantee good fortune is designated by it. yãṅbo (-po): seems to be connected with the Tib. g, yaṅ-bum = urn of good fortune (Unkrig).

Urn: p'endzē (Chin.).
Urn with grain: yãṅ-džēw = to fill with good-fortune seeds (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above].
To fill the urn: yãṅdzēwrē ġada = to fill up with seed stuffing.
Attachments: yãṅ rdzē = seed attachments (additions).
Hada: kadaġ (Tib.).
Cloth remnants: sdziedzē dzüldēgãn = cloth remnants of all kinds.
Mane hairs: dzãṅgãṅ; tsung-kang (Chin.).
Black hairs: sul.
Ball of hair: fudzē sdzialaġ = downy-hair ball.
Sheep wool: ṅġuasē.
Consecrating prayer: yãṅpo dgē (Tib. loanword) = arrow-of-good-fortune prayer (1) [see Note 1 above].
To prepare the arrow: ilieni yãṅsdziarē fuya = to tie everything to the arrow of good fortune.

[Pages 52-55 contain the notes given as numbered footnotes.]

[55]

3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

000

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the
[357] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger
[Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same
time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is
[791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same
[792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the
tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes
[782] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great
[351] incense offering is presented three times daily.

[784] At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed
with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated,
[782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

*778

[822]

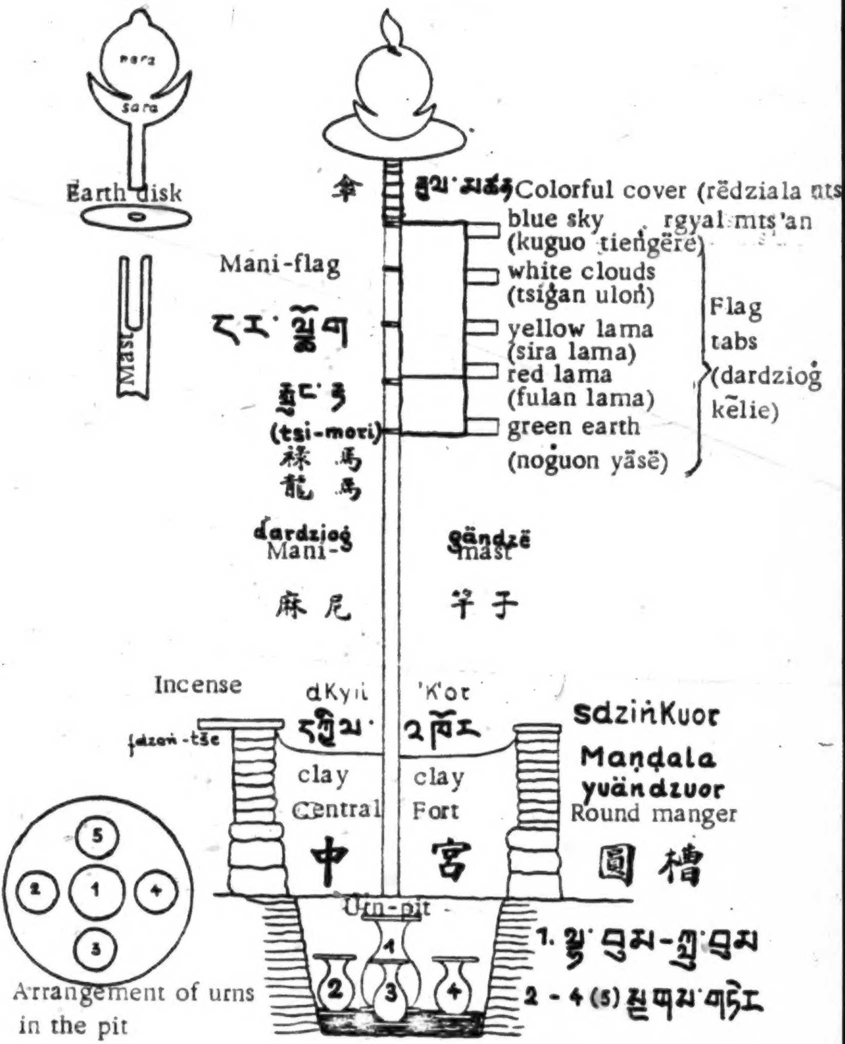
para
sara
Earth disk
Mast
傘
རྒྱལ་མཚན Colorful cover (rēdziala nts
rgyal mtsʼan
blue sky
(kuguo tieṅgēre)
white clouds
(tsiġan uloṅ)
yellow lama
(sira lama)
red lama
(fulan lama)
green earth
(noġuon yāsë)
Flag
tabs
(dardzioġ
kẽlie)
Mani-flag
དར་ལྕོག
རླུང་རྟ
(tsi-mori)
祿馬
龍馬
dardzioġ
Mani-
gändzë
mast
麻尼
竿子
Incense
ſdzoṅ-tšc
dKyil
དཀྱིལ་
'K'or
འཁོར
clay
Central
中
clay
Fort
宮
sdziṅKuor
Maṇḍala
yuändzuor
Round manger
圓槽
Urn-pit
1. ཀླུ་བུམ-སྐུ་བུམ
2 - 4 (5) ཟེ་ཡམ་གཏེར
5
2
1
4
3
Arrangement of urns
in the pit

Fig. 7. Mani-tree and Central Fort.

The large urn in the center (1) is called Spirit-Naga-urn, the accompanying urns (2-5, three of which are visible), magical treasure.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

> 1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to
the monastery.

791

Details

*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the
[592] master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

> 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[56 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
791 when the ceremony is to begin.

787 The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

[57 cont.]

*778
[621]

[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

[792]

[171]

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

[792]

as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[57 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] that this disk represented the wreath of rays of the stars. Sometimes one also hears that it represents the earth-disk. -- He designated the small round piece set on the sun as a star; accordingly, sun, moon, and stars would be on the tip. Nothing is known among the people about the other explanations of the Lamaistic occult interpretations, such as that of the sun as tilaka, of the moon sickle as bindu (drops), and of the attached piece as a flame-shaped nāda (sacrificial cry), etc. Cf. Note 9.

piece and the vertical disk are painted with a red color, for instance, red clay. The moon sickle is white. -- In place of this cut-out sun-moon tip, one can also tie a bundle of cypress twigs to the pole; this is also done later with the same ceremonies.

The cover: The cover, which covers the connection of the tip and the end of the pole, is sewed together out of five rings of cloth. Each ring has its own color. The cover is about 30 to 50 centimeters long and is adjusted according to the thickness of the tree. There are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material, but the cloth must be clean and whole. Both men and women may sew this cover, but usually the men do it. After the sewing, the cover is fumigated in the incense and placed on the household altar (6).

[192] 6. [Foreign text pp. 60-61.] The name of the cover is apparently nothing but a literary botching of the Tibetan rgyal-mts'an (pronounced rdzial-), of the victory-ornament

[57 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60-61 cont.] (cf. Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21) that is part of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad). Ch. Das (p. 313) explains the rgyal-mts'an (Sanskritic dhvajā) as a war banner or victory sign of Buddhism; it is the official standard of the Buddhists. One often finds it as garment trimming in various colors or as a cloth cylinder on flagpoles or on a post. Sometimes it is made of brass or wood. Furthermore, Ch. Das cites 11 kinds of rgyal-mts'an in Tibetan Buddhism, which fight the demonic powers.

The Chinese translation san (screen) might be misleading and point to the first of the eight offerings, the white screen, gdugs dkar (Sanskritic chattra); cf. Ch. Das, p. 69 (bkra šis ...), and Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21. -- The Tujen do not differentiate precisely here.

*778 >

The multicolored cover is found in the most diverse varieties: [61] as column drapes in the temples, as gigantic cloth bells or screens, on ceremonial standards, on trident masts, as curtains, etc. In other words, it does not represent a peculiarity of the mani-tree. Because the rgyal-mts'an also occurs as garment trimming (cf. above), the colorful ring-trimming on the sleeves of the Tujen costume is probably connected with it, which, indeed, is often drawn on as a cloth funnel.

[291]

The mani-flag: The flag consists of a long piece of white cloth. Usually it is cotton cloth, which can be bought in town. It should always be new and faultless. One leaves the original width of the cloth as it is, in other words, about 30 to 50 centimeters. The length depends on the mani-mast, for the flag is

[57 cont.]
*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the
length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household
first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is
[782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the mon-
astery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters
of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with
the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row
of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the
pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is
[822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The
length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers
wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangu-
lar. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the
cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are
no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192] 7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-
flag has various names; cf. below,
Note 10. All these names apply in the
first place to the horse-image, then to
the flag, and finally to the entire tree.
The image is the most important, espe-
cially when one considers that paper
images are also in use.

*778 On every flag or every image there
796 are the most varied sayings and repre-
sentations, in Tibetan or Chinese or
782 Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also
bears on its back the sign of good for-
tune, nuru. These paper horses play
[171] an important role in the ceremony
of releasing the horses, which is per-
formed by the Tujen as well as by the
Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony
is practiced at certain times of the
year, for instance, in the month of the

[58 cont.]

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> [Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
> New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

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[791]
[787]
[357]
[784]
[792]

The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

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[372]

Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned
is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at
a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a
small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on
the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell
square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse,
or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen-
[792] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth-
[791] sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer
merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every-
thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in-
[357] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days.
[784] Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and
the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of
the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions.
[791] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which
[792] are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and
over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter
and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the
upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay
and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle,
[231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and
fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure
is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort,"
for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the
compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-
pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the
main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making
and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that
are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising
of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted
[527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[59 cont.]

357 *778 [527] [171] festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

> 8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 539 Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[59 cont.]

*778 [777] [772] Meaning: The *mani*-tree guarantees good fortune and peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good fortune: *nuru*. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

[351] 9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the *mani*-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the *nantšu wãńdãh́*. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: *Kumbum*, pp. 160-161.

[192] [62] The word *sdzi-ṅkuor* and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word *dkyil 'k'or*; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word maṇḍala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rluṅ-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i. e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioġ (Tib.).

The mast: dardzioġ gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).

The sun: nara.

The moon: sara.

For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.

The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].

The flag: dardzioġ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;

loṅšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;

lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loṅšda is the Tibetan rluṅ rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day. [773]

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[171]

For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ..ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] this means "silk" and "tip" and is "a flag-staff about 10 or 12 feet high ... on house-tops, piles of stone, or on votive cairns" (p. 620) [cited in English].

The flag tabs: dardzioġ kilie - mani-flag tabs [Zungen, literally "tongues"].
Blue sky: kuguo tieńgĕre.
White clouds: tsiġan uloṅ.
Yellow lama: sira lama.
Red lama: fulan lama.
Green earth: noğuon yăsĕ = green grass.
The round manger: yũăn dzuọr = round manger; yũan-ts'ao (Chin.) = round manger; sdziṅkuor (Tib.) = center-round (9) [see Note 9 above].
The incense plate: fdzaṅ tšĕ = incense-terrace.
The central urn (that is, central fort): lawum-ġluwum (Tib.) = spirit-urn -- earth-god-urn.
The four little urns: sĕnog-der (snaġ-der) = magical urns (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 63.] sĕnoġder: Tibetan sṅags = magical saying, spell formula, gter = treasure, storage chamber. Meaning: magical treasure chamber (Unkrig).

[Pages 60-63 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

*778

[63] The Obo*

* See "Notes," pp. 68-71 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects
782 the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated
three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacri-
[776] fices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a
[792] lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-
horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on
[791] which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes
place near the obo.

Details

*778 Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height.
[621] A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest moun-
tain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several
[628] villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they
agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times. [621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain. [231] [776]

*778 [792] [791] [178] The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, re- 782 cently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and *mani*-flags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and [824] cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the [178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[64 cont.]

*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long
782 silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and
[178] silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on
[796] the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] ~~There is no connection~~ between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white
[788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and
in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions
[621] concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal
sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual [621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other [231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present. [791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth [252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal, [574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, [791] depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire [621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell.
At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo
782 is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women,
old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the
mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths,
and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear
throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

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[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527 [171] [Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowa- [178] days these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are [782 825] his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And [411] they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[67 cont.]

*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).

776

[231]

> 4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

539 *778 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieñguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieñguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieñguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[67 cont.]

539 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white *778 stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822] 5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. [484] When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, [346] chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[67 cont.] [Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]

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or in learning anything further about the rites. I was merely told that there is a whole series of obo types, among them some that are not erected by by lamas. Furthermore the objects put in an obo pit were said to vary greatly. Preferably, urns, kettles, and implements were placed there.

In this myth a dog is buried in the obo, and, it seems, a live one. It is treated like other Lamaistic divine figures that are animated by a deity: it receives a silk garment, is sprinkled with holy water, and has spices cast on it; the votive prayer is given. It is a mother dog. The significance of this dog Tsila could not be determined. Presumably it was one of the tribal animals. The Chinese in the Tujen village Hualing-kou (Huchu County) claim that the [70] Tujen bury a dog in the obo. This dog is said to be their ancestor. My informant very definitely disputed this, and I was unable to obtain any further information concerning this contention. From where did people get this story? They said that it had been handed down in this form. At any rate, it is striking that the dog occurs in this Tujen myth. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the informant is well acquainted with the disparaging Chinese conception (also in the literature) that the barbarians are descended from dogs. -- The dog also plays a role among the Tujen as the provider of the first barley and furthermore, in connection with the weather fort of the dog yelping at the sky, hao t'ien chen (Chin.).

[648]

[67 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
But this dog in the weather fort is connected with the dog of the same name of the hero Geser, *hao t'ien ch'üan* (Chin.).

For the rest, the basic features of the *obo* veneration appear in this myth: casting votive gifts, the circling (that is, on horseback, as is said to be done still among the neighboring Mongols), incense offerings. -- Weapons are not mentioned, but the cypress twigs that are stuck on the white stonepile [772] are. -- And above all it is noteworthy that the obo is erected on the world-mountain and this probably gives the real connection and deeper meaning, which by no means need be Buddhist.

This suggestion would also correspond to what, for example, Bastian writes [772] (*Chinareisen* [China Travels], pp. 395 ff.), that the obo represents the mountain Sumeru. And the many small stonepiles in the direction of the various points of the compass thus also fit into the same world-picture. Cf. Unkrig in Filchner: *Kumbum*, Note 1638.

The *mani*-strings are evidently likewise a Lamaistic product, perhaps a substitute for the sheep's shoulder bones formerly hung from them, which Bastian, *loc. cit.* p. 601, mentions. The Tujen no longer know anything about these shoulder blades. It cannot be explained why the two strings, the black and the white, are differentiated in this way here.

[67 cont.]

Word List

192
*778 Obō: lašdzë (lawdzë, ladzë) (Tib. loanword) (7).
mao-chi (Chin.);these are the signs for reed - good fortune.
[776] Shan-shen (Chin.) = mountain-spirit (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 70.] The statement of the old man that the expression obō is unknown in his region was surprising to me. I found it confirmed; at least it is not used among the Tujen there, which is all the more surprising since the Chinese use the word obō the most. The Tujen almost exclusively use the Tibetan loanword lašdzë (or lawdzë). Farther away, to be sure, there are Tujen who are familiar with both designations; lašdzë is nothing other than the Tibetan la-rtse, "mountain top," according to Ch. Das (p. 1200): "the summit of a pass." The relationship to the cult of heights and the mountain-spirit is clear. -- Besides the foreign word obō (Mong. obuġa, DMF 296) the Chinese also have the name mao-chi.

The Chinese expression mao-chi has no logical meaning in itself. In the Tangkar chronicle I saw for it the sign for reeds (mao) and good fortune (chi); there are also other ways of writing it. This shows that a phonetic imitation of a foreign word is involved here. The original word for it, however, cannot be determined. In the region of the Chia-Hsifan around Kumbum
[776] the name shan-shen, that is, mountain-spirit, is used the most. With it the Chinese simply identify the obo with the spirit, which corresponds with the situation, since it is in fact the seat of the mountain spirit.

[67 cont.]

192 Obo mountain:	lawdzë ūla.
*778 To erect obo:	lawdzë paġguni.
Obo pit:	lawdzë nukuo.
Stone mound:	tašë soġdō.
Obo frame:	lawdzë dziadzë (Chin.).
Whitewashing:	tsiġandë budë.
Contents of the obo pit:	rdzë.
[782] Votive offerings for the obo:	lawdzë šdodlōdzān ntsuomdzia = weapons placed on the obo.
Spear:	dzida.
Sword:	wōldë.
Tree twigs:	sdziōdzë aralaġ = (poplar) twigs; šgua aralaġ = cypress twigs; tañgëraġ aralaġ = fir branches.
Sheep wool:	nġuasë.
Silk threads:	torġuo šdadzë = silk threads.
Little white stones:	mulġan (mula) tsiġan tašë.
Spear tassel:	dzida män dzioġ.

[68]

Grain:	dzüldë tara = all kinds of grain.
Sugar:	ġarā.
Gold:	xaldān.
Silver:	mieñgu.
Mani-string:	lang-sheng (Chin.) = wolf string. kimori bödoġ = air-horse string.
Obo call:	garu (Tib.) lawdzë yara (Tib.). šdo-o-od = the white obo from below I throw at (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 71.]
mändzioġ: Tibetan lcog = pennant, pinnacle, peak. The män seems to come from the Chinese mang = pennant.
-- garu lawtsë yäre šdodla (obo call): Tibetan dkar (pronounced gar) = white,

[68 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse - obo, yaṙ = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rē̈dziōṅ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē̈ dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē̈ tada xoni šē̈ṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē̈ tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē̈ šē̈ṅlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō̆-.

To set up a tent: bekǟrge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kǟni mori gurdā́?

[529] Shooting competition: sē̈mu sē̈muda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kǟni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē̈ walde-.

Whose strength is great: kǟni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē̈ nigē̈ dōlā́-.

Whose songs are many: kǟni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē̈ šda rē̈dziōṅ́ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē̈ šdodlō̆, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē̈ ayili kun, ase, mulā́-sēla, nasā́, ġuosāni furōṅlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[68 cont.]

192 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë
*778 udaġladzä̃n sōwa (or fsü̃ärëġwa) = birds
(or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęñge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kä̃ni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasẽñgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sẽna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieñge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë
malõñguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8
above]) arãñ nigë huę rëdziā - (nigë
xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

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* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621]
[351]

In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621 792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621 777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361 791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽṅ designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽṅ), that is, 100,000. kãṅ is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãṅ.

[72 cont.]

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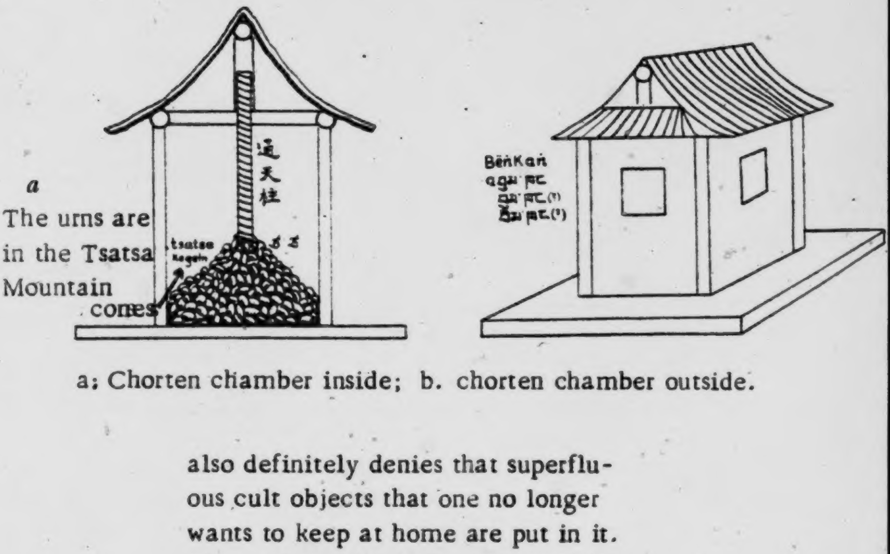
[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] Accordingly, bẽṅ-kãṅ would mean: the chamber of the 100,000, or more freely and with reference to the sasa contained in it, chamber of the countless sasa, chorten chamber. In the DMF biṅkãṅ stands for it, with the explanation: "small temple with four doors, where one puts the idols and religious objects that one no longer wants to keep in the house (it is usually built at the exit of a village or at a crossroads)" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. bank'aṅ, "store-room, treasury" [cited in English]. -- According to all the information available to me, the bẽṅkãṅ never has a door; the informant



a; Chorten chamber inside; b. chorten chamber outside.

also definitely denies that superfluous cult objects that one no longer wants to keep at home are put in it. The name might better be derived from bum-k'aṅ, "urn-house." bum-k'aṅ, namely, is also the central part of a chorten, which, of course, is urn-shaped.

[72 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] According to W.A.Unkrig, the Mongolic rendering of it is bum-xan. In Mongolic linguistic usage this would be the same as cara-īngēr, with which a cremation house is designated, literally, "house of the frying pan" (communication). But even this interpretation seems doubtful.

The informant is probably correct with his explanation: bẽṅ = 'bum = 100,000, countless; and bẽṅkãṅ = house of the countless (chorten). In the literature "Ts'a ts'a house" is used for it, for instance, A. Tafel, Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], II, p. 265. To be sure, Ch. Das, too, speaks not of a 'bum-k'aṅ, but of a ts'a-k'aṅ: "place, where ts'a-ts'a are kept" (p. 1017) [cited in English]. In general, these little clay cones are stored in huge quantities in chorten or dwellings, etc., and A. Tafel would like to connect this custom with the Bon religion; cf. op. cit., pp. 198, 265. At any rate, the popular belief of the Tujen ascribes great power to these ts'a-ts'a. Concerning the significance of the ts'a-ts'a in Buddhism proper, cf. the relevant works by Tucci.

Nothing specific, however, is designated by the name bẽṅkãṅ; it is only a generic concept. As the lamas in the Mongol lamasery Dsadsang near Tangkar and in Kumbum say, there are two groups of bẽṅkãṅ. First there are those without walls and roof, for example: loġ-loġ (a kind of stone pyramid); ndõṅ-ndõṅ; ser-wdziãl. Secondly, those with walls and

[72 cont.]

346 [Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
*778 a roof, such as džēw-yi and ger-kãṅ.
192 The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsāla bẽṅkãṅ, dṡōma bẽṅkãṅ, maridzē bẽṅkãṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rēduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzē, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific
[791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival
[527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the
preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides
[476] the work among the individual families. At the erection and the
[562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women
[792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[72 cont.]

*778 at the erection is undertaken only by a lama of higher rank.

[792] The urns: Altogether there are ten urns, two large urns up to 40 centimeters high and eight small urns. Concerning the purchase, the purification of the urns, etc., the same regulations apply as in the case of the earth-god urn (cf. the relevant section).

The contents of the urns: The large urns contain two layers of filling; in addition, a bundle of five prayer scrolls is stuck in each layer, in other words, ten scrolls, five in each of the two bundles, in each large urn.

The manufacture of these bundles is done in the following fashion: The lama takes a little stick of clean wood about ten centimeters long and as thick as a little finger. Around this he wraps a layer of leaves of paper printed with Tibetan texts. He [213] himself brings the wooden plates for the printing, since the texts vary according to the spirits represented by the scrolls. A very tight wrapping of silk thread in the five colors is put around this layer of paper, so that nothing can be seen of the texts. Then the lama takes five such scrolls and ties them together in such a way that the principal scroll is in the middle and the other four surround it symmetrically. Then a layer of silk or thin cloth, yellow or red in color, is put around this bundle, and finally the whole is once more wound tightly with silk thread in the five colors, like a thread-spool for spinning. -- Everything, the paper, the cloth, the threads, etc., are sprinkled each time with holy water and fumigated before use. -- Thus altogether four bundles are prepared.

[73] As extra features for the receptacle the following are used: mountain earth from sacred mountains (it must be taken from the peak); river water, pure spring water, which is sprinkled into the urn; wood from pure trees in the mountains, fir or cypress tops (foliage and bark from these trees are also permissible); grain, such as wheat, white beans, white rape, barley, and Tibetan barley (ch'ing-kuo); black and white sugar; Buddha gold, silver, little pieces of pearl, mother-of-pearl.

[73 cont.]

*778 These extra features were supposed to represent the seven jewels, but they cannot be obtained, and hence the objects enumerated are used as substitutes.

In addition, all kinds of spices are put in it, which the lama himself brings. These are the 74 kinds of earth-god spices. In addition there are five strands of thread in the sacred colors, or even individual threads. They are placed vertically in the filling.

The filling is done in the following order: First the earth and the wood are placed inside and sprinkled with spring water. Then the first bundle of scrolls is set inside and filled out with the grain. Over that come the other extra features, up to half of the urn. Then the second layer with the second scroll bundle follows, exactly like the first one. Finally fluid butter is poured over the whole up to the edge, and precisely like the earth-god urn it is tied with a red or yellow cloth, sealed, and at the end where the seal hangs down it is painted with a nuru sign. Then the second large urn and the eight accompanying urns follow. The accompanying urns have no Buddha-bundles (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 78.] The scrolls placed in the urns are supposed to represent certain spirits; according to the informant, the lowest scrolls represent the earth-god and the uppermost the mountain-spirit, each with its four companions. On the other hand, according to his statements, there seem to be many kinds of such spirits since the leaves of paper are correspondingly printed differently. Clarity could not be obtained. The leaves of paper, however, also act as magic, as is indicated by their name, snag, that is, magic(sayings). The cloth and thread wrappings represent the clothes of the spirit. -- There is

[73 cont.]

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suggested the assumption that in the case of the scrolls four spirits of the compass points are involved. The fact that the lama gives a special votive prayer over them means that the urn actually does become the dwelling of the spirits. -- The four accompanying urns are supposed to have the same significance as the other earth-god urns, in other words, additional gifts to the earth-god, or offerings. It may be, however, that they represent the points of the compass, just as is possible in the case of the central fort. -- Concerning the significance of the accompanying urns, there is no uniform popular conception.

*778 Consecration of the urns: All the urns are now placed together on one or two wooden trays, on which cypress leaves and barley grains have been scattered. The trays are brought by the master of ceremonies to the chest in front of the household deity. The lama makes a torma and places it in front of the urns. Now, after a butter-lamp has been lighted in front of each urn and seven little water-bowls stand in front of them, the lama sprinkles holy water over them and places the holy water-can on a little plate with Tibetan barley before the urns on the chest. Now he sits down on a felt mat and gives the votive prayer over the urns. He may also do this on his kang. Afterwards everything is again fumigated. In the yard, meanwhile, the great incense offering is burning.

*778
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The sky column: As soon as the lama has come, the village elders present a petition to him and have him give the regulations for the tree that is to stand as the column in the chorten chamber. They then fetch a carpenter from the village

[73 cont.]

*778 and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must [824] be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

[783] Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools. First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass; then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to [74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes [42] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it. The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed bẽṅkãṅ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[74 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] noteworthy that at all times the orientation of the tree as it grew must be preserved. -- Nothing further [192] was learned about the name sõń-siń. The Chinese expression t'ung t'ien-chu, which is doubtless much more appropriate, is also used there for the center column in Lamaistic temples and for the center pole of the tent. In southern Kansu a large monolith bearing the same name stands somewhere in the mountains, as I was told by a missionary who was an eye-witness. This center pole plays a well-known role in the west of China, so nothing further need be said about it here.

The chorten: The chorten have the form of small clay cones and look like large eight-turreted chorten. The Chinese call them "red clay clods." Altogether there are supposed to be 100,000 little cones, but this number is not always adhered to, especially if the village is small. Three to four months before-
[64] hand, these little clay cones are poured into special wooden molds. The village elders apportion the number for each family.

The under-surfaces of the still damp little forms are tamped on Tibetan barley and incense which remain stuck to them as they dry. The average size is about the length of a finger; there are also larger ones (4). -- The finished chorten

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 78.] With reference to the Fandse language, sasa is also pronounced dzadza (ts'a-ts'a). These clay cones not only have the shape (even if only roughly) of chorten, but they also frequently represent sacred figures which, according to the old man's

[74 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] assertion, are likewise placed in the chorten chamber. At any rate, they are to be distinguished from the tormas, which are never made of clay; cf. Ch. Das, p. 1019, and A. Tafel, I, 221, II, 331.

are carried in a pile into a temple hall or into a clean yard. On the last day before the construction the lama goes there, sprinkles them with holy water, and prays over them. Then he makes a torma on the spot, which is placed before the clay cones with the customary seven water-bowls. After everything has been fumigated with incense, he gives the votive prayer and then goes back to his host.

*778
346
[791]

The erection of the chorten chamber: On the seventh day the spear-soothsayer appears very early in the morning. He divines in the yard, under the questioning of the leader, when and where the chamber is to be erected. Then he goes out and with spear-shaking indicates the precise spot by driving the spear into the ground there. The lama meanwhile drinks his morning tea.

Now the people bring everything, stones, beams, chorten, clay, straw, urns, in short, all that is necessary. For the lama a white felt mat is spread out in an easterly direction, a small kang-table is placed on it, and a delegation is sent to invite him ceremoniously and escort him to this spot. He takes his seat on the mat and begins his prayer, accompanied by bell and drum.

The soothsayer now takes away the spear, and the men scatter twigs of the tree of life and barley grains over the place where it was driven into the ground. Then they place the first large urn precisely on the mark left by the spear, and [75] each of the four other small urns at the four points of the compass. Behind these the sky column with the four points of the compass indicated on it is set up. It is not driven into the ground, but

[75 cont.]

*778 346 is held by hand for the time being while the men in great haste pile up the clay cones, basketful after basketful, over the urns and around the base of the column until the latter remains standing by itself. Once the urns are covered to a certain level, all kinds of additions are once more scattered over them, the kinds of things that the urns already contain and which have been left over for the purpose. Now, with the same ceremonies, the second layer follows with the next four urns, which are grouped precisely around their large urn, the latter being placed directly over the large urn below. And again the clay chorten are piled over them until finally the urns are buried under a pyramid and only the upper part of the column remains visible. -- The column comes to stand on the side of the urns facing a mountain, which, in this mountainous terrain, can be seen immediately.

Before the column is buried by the many chorten, it is sprinkled once more with holy water and fumigated (5). During the entire ceremony, from morning until evening, the great incense offering is burned in front of the spot or at several places in the vicinity. At the conclusion, even the lama himself makes the incense offering before the consecrated and fumigated chorten-mountain with the column, while everybody kowtows.

Afterwards he again sits down on his mat and proceeds with his prayers. Meanwhile the chamber is built with great haste. First the four corner posts are erected and connected

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[532] 5. [Foreign text p. 78.] As monks in Kumbum said, before the erection of sky column, a floor drawing or a leaf of paper with a drawing is first placed on the ground (maṇḍala). The informant was of the opinion that this is not always the case. It is noteworthy that this drawing has exactly the same name as the central fort, namely, sdziṅkuor. This would indicate that in both cases the same thought is involved.

[75 cont.]

*778 346 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves. [483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. -- [783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber [527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
346 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too,
782 however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 [776] [772] [751] Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

[772] 6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam.
[771] Also, in the case of the customs

[76 cont.]

*778
171

[Note on foreign text p. 79 cont.] connected with the erection of the chamber no inner relationship to the content finds expression. These are the same customs that are practiced in connection with all housebuilding by the Tsinghai Chinese.

Word List

192
*778

Chorten chamber:	*bẽṅkãṅ* (Tib. loanword) = countless chamber (house) (1) [see Note 1 above]. *ger-kãń*, *ger* (Tuj.) = house, *kãṅ* = chamber. *ma-ni* *lou* (Chin.) = *mani*-house (high house).
Sky column:	*sõṅ-siṅ* (Tib. loanword) - protective tree (wood) (7). *t'ung-t'ien* *chu* (Chin.) = to connect sky column.

7. [Foreign text p. 79.] *sõṅ* *siṅ*: Tibetan *skyoṅ* - to preserve, protect, *šiṅ* = wood. -- *sasa*: Tibetan *ts'a* *ts'a* = little conical clay cones. -- *sena:* Tibetan *sna* = group, category. -- *šder*: Tibetan *gser* = gold. -- *wsirë̃*: Tibetan *byi-ru* (pronounced *šuru*) = coral. -- *sōdãṅ*: could come from the Chinese (?). *ts'u-t'ang* - vinegar-pool. -- *sguora*: Tibetan *skor* *ba* = to circle around. -- *rë̃duombẽń*: Tibetan *rdō* = stone, *'bum* = 100,000 (Unkrig).

Clay chorten, clay cone: *sasa* (Tib. loanword), *tza-tza* (4) [see Note 4 above].

[76 cont.]

192 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiāṅguāṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum gōṅluo (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: snoġ dër (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzē (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsü-sena (Tib.); fdzē = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mōdē = wood.

Buddha gold: šdzer (7) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirē (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: dōṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[789] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sōdāṅ; sōdäṅ (7) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[620]

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives,
[431] however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy,
[822] red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the
791 master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[787] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
of the family should give the child its name, and which name
[592] the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example:
[778] "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called
by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

551 3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guănbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guămbo; ifulā̆ sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sĕrãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lašdze sĕrãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguăn ula, mountain of the Tuguăn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

551 [Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serañ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdziġ, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, [171] too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sĕrañ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should [592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- 553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or 592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It [792]

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792] 4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, [431] the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the [527] [273] [562] child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. [431] The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; [553] the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[171] [846] 2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192 846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.
ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.
man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] [302] [778] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623]

Details

852
787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune- [624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example,
[171] among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[623 cont.]

302
852
[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852
[782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
852
171
5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] are carried out by the grandmother on the maternal side ..." etc. "Before this festival is celebrated, a large bamboo sieve, such as the farmers use for screening the grain, is placed on the table before the ancestral tablets, where incense and candles have already been lighted. On this sieve are placed a series of coins, a pair of scissors, an ell measure, a copper mirror, brush, inks, paper, inkstone, one or two books, the abacus, a gold or silver ornamental object or some other implement, fruit, etc. The child wears the new clothes which it has just been given and is put on the sieve amidst the objects. Now it is a question of what the child grasps first, holds, and plays with. This moment has an exceedingly great fascination for the parents and assembled friends. It is said that the object the child seizes first indicates its later activities, profession, character, and position in the world. If the child is a boy and seizes a book or an object that has something to do with literature, such as a brush or ink, then one assumes that he will be a great scholar. If he grasps the money or [625] gold and silver objects, then he will be famous on account of his wealth and skill in acquiring money. Once in the Sung dynasty a girl, when she was a year old and had been set on the sieve, first grasped two little miniature weapons with one hand and with the other two vessels such as are used for certain offerings on state occasions. After a few minutes she laid these things

[623 cont.]

852 [Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
171 down again and grasped a seal. She then
no longer paid any attention to the things
that lay before her. And now the result:
this girl became chancellor of an imperial
realm." -- The oracle at this birthday
celebration corresponds essentially with
that of the Tujen.

527 The Tujen celebrate birthdays other-
wise, too, both men and women, but
only from the forty-fifth year on. A
feast is held, at which all the relatives
take part. As presents, nine loaves of
bread are customary. Eight steamed
loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien,
and one loaf represents the god of age,
[769] shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sun-
down, all go outside to the graves and
give the ancestral offering. Then they
go home and drink and dance into the
[177] night. -- As the names show, this cus-
tom is also borrowed from the Chinese.
[769] The Tujen originally had no ancestral
offering; to the Chinese, on the other
hand, the arrow of good fortune and the
dance with song are foreign.

192

Word List

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: ńoġdzidza ligunadzi.

[623 cont.]

192
776 The three world-spirits: dier xsẽm sãṅrẽdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsẽm sãṅrẽdzi: xsẽm = Tib. gsum = three; saṅrẽdzi = Tib. saṅs-rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625]

527

3. The New Year's Festival*

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171]
[574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated,
joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon
relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),
[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and
songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

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[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied
kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and
filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount
is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

527 [354] [177] 1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

527 782 [888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. [789] During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. [171] Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[776]
[372]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[372]
[783]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177] It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821] The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three taġur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals
[776] onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787] 7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early
782 hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one
574 another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family.
[576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year
533 the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

[627 cont.]

527 533 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire [883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535] [171] 5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. [171] The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. [539] The song given here is Tibetan in its original [883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[628 cont.]

527 [533] [883] [Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins [262] again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[539] [533] Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

192
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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara noġdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarĕ šĕlõṅ = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xġeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiãṅġuor tsina-.
To distill wine:dĕrasĕṅġĕ dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šĕlõṅge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šĕmieṅge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: taġur šdimieṅge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar noġdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šĕlõṅ bi ndĕra, malõṅ siernege purġan dzĕliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630]

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4. The Age-blessing*

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. [574] The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. [792] The mother's brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, [785] must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

527
778 The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or
888 a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around
sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are
better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager
[792] for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done
only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consulta-
[604] tion with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the
hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes
[621] part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance.
[262] Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and
oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard
are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased,
and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few
days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room
in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and
eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be conse-
[431] crated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it,
which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest
[604] respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he
comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang
[431] and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated
with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[631 cont.]

527 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and
778 money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later
888 receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[431]

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the
[574] men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right
[562] and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother
with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is
taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter
[574] it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable
amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of
778 ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The
sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the
888 mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada
792 and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother
604 demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the
master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

792
[604] Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). -- [788]

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and
778 little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main
888 house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a
792 little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783] 4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]
527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may
be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the
lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again
in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy
water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of
ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot
material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded
cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[713] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with
this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition
against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and
women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language
so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
[292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be
silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is
cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies
before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the
same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled
with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the
candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The
cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas
throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[431] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the
[465] morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not
accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him.
A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-
butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[792] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives
[766] 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's
death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also
usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals
[262] that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the
meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation.
This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast
days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the
month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633.cont.]

778 888 [785] incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang, drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. [792] The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. [796] [792] The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

[633 cont.]

778 796 [Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dẑawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) [illegible]) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies. [851] [527]

Word List

192

778 Age-consecration: ŝge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

888

527 Master of ceremonies; kăṅguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzō niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).

[601] Mother's brother: nĕgă; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

[292] Sash: ġĕdzăn (Tib. loanword) (6).

[785] 6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gĕdzăn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

[633 cont.]

192 [Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
778 Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to con-
888 secrate, to transfer. This is a cere-
527 mony of the transference of force, at
which each lama receives a secret name
(Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien džöwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõṅsõṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gēlõhba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

000 [635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead,
squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the
[792] master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before
at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead per-
son and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a
crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion
as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones
[765] are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls
are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of
mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women
remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If
death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer
shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is
undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the
entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women.
The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted
in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which
hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden
death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the
washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823] 1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

775 Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts
763 a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of
778 butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced
age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

[262]
[278]

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651].
763 conceptions, to be sure, it cannot
778 ensoul the dead corpse again, but
[278] it nonetheless brings the dead to life
in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner
[192] (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions
this pill on p. 400 under the name
rilu, and in Note 1683 under the
Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu.
It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter,
[648] "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again
[262] acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

[177]

Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

[636 cont.]

174 [Note on foreign text p. 651-652. cont.] 764 valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." [776] Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. [778] A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652] was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

[636 cont.]

174 [Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
764 jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I. 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then
[175] again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fail forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp-string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

[775] In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

[636 cont.]

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[775]

[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

[789]

The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that

[789]

the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema-

[766]

tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[636 cont.]

> 764 [Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.]
> [766] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand,
> which a dead person with age-consecration
> wears, must be burned with the corpse,
> just like the sash that he received at that
> time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the
Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until
after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does
not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not
buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with
the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan
chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of
the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof
[171] and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the
Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun
and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a
mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[324] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

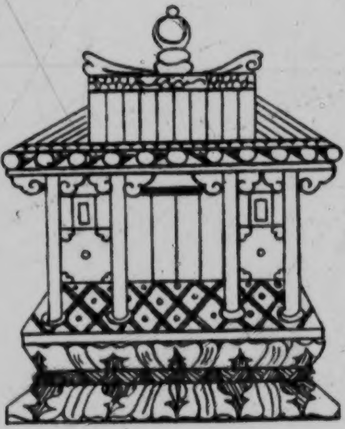
> 6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

764 [637 cont.]

465 322 his work and, in addition, twelve loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the household altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782]

[532]



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

[782] [776] [177] 7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] [593] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was
412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans
764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at
[322] all.

[177] 8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also
[778] called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is,
[787] white tiger, because it can become
[776] the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

The enemy of the rolling pin is the
[776] threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung.

[638 cont.]

764 412 [776] [Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. [322] For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- [322] People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

764 171 [782] all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box. Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. [789] It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[638 cont.]

764 171 [Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury [789] the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

764 782 Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations [171] correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen [354] bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.]
782 on the oil. This is to prevent the
[354] wick from burning too far down into
the bowl; in order to save oil, the
lower half is filled with water. --
[171] The Chinese dough-lamp of long life,
ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do
with this lamp; it is unknown to the
Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called
paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and
the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is
poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc.
[264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten.
Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake
of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary
earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171] 11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The
paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day,
when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is
not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married
daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then
782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the
593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes
place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The
oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether
or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried
[589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time
someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps
[152] aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, băn-sãń tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

764 Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives
602 come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances
782 and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary,
[561] or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never
[593] to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

764 Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and
782 are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the
765 death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

[171] During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside.
[302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and
[301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only
[593] exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer
782 tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around
[602] the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[639 cont.]

764 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if
782 possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the
house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the
792 room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on
the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never
prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of
mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there
only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand,
may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for
the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that
bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the
prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried
out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for
the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation,
but remain in the house of mourning.

764 For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes re-
ceive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by
782 the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an ac-
792 counting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes,
465 to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being in-
vited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons
[604] who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on
the morning after the cremation.

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
782 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
792 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
465 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[272] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
[552] to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
602 a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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[177] 13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

764 602 [Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 602 604 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763] [273] [178] [171] [212] 14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] [465] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon [273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]

[602] [604] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly

15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three
764 groups of relatives are to be distinguished,
which correspond to the kinship divisions
601 of the Chinese there: 1. One's own
[171] family, dzienani kudẽ, Chin. pen-chia.
To this belong the descendants in a
direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren,
even the daughters who are already
[592] married outside. They live together in
one compound. 2. Cousinhood,
dzienani šăni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu.
These are the father's brothers and
cousins, in practice all the relatives
with the same family name. -- This
group is obligated to provide for the
interment, while one's own family
(even the daughters) wear mourning
dress and are subject to the strict
mourning taboos. As soon as the
daughters return to their husband's
family, however, they take off the
mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage,
uroġ, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i.
[177] Since among the Tujen here the Chinese
expressions are now in use, the
following names should be distinguished:
ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship
of the sons-in-law with whom
the daughters have married. They have
another family name, wai-hsing. The
family from which the mother comes is
called wai-chia; here the brother of
the mother is the person of respect who
represents her interests. The family
from which the mother of the father comes
is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. *Wei-chia* and *wai-chia* have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of *wai-chia* one also says *niang-chia*, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The *wai-chia* or *niang-chia* does not appear until the day before the cremation.

[792]

The mother's brother is solemnly

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received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the *mani*-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
177 following offices: 1. The master
[605] of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him kăṅguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the kăṅguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and
[537] requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders,
604 takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he
537 demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during
the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer
[273] service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the
dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he
deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far
too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense
them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish
[273] or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his
liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the
master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands,
and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the
most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during
his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person;
moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and
for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad,
but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So
it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the
master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and
the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will
release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to
inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three
604 times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch
by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually
[431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the
deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side
[735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among
poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has
the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration
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[642 cont.]
764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
775 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --
177 [illegible]

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The [192] Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

[642 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

[642 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, *wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien*, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never
000 determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over
20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The
place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually
chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the
members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the de-
ceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is
considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange
soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special
preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields,
because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival
in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact
that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse
is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays,
when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted,
cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys,
and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[642 cont.]
764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While
he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the
mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the
mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into
account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies
he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set
to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men
build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells
wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells
high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longi-
tudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside.
On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The
oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

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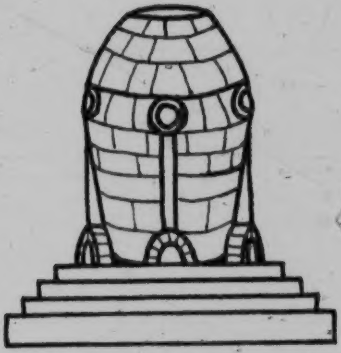

[532]

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.] the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. [532] The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by [775] the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

764 [604] The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those [431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[644 cont.]

764 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door,
over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of
792 the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the
dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his
cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which
two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with
the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the
appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is
also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning
in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma rep-
[778] resents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him west-
[775] ward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the
west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore
he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three
372 stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter
how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into
the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the
[792] lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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[178] 18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

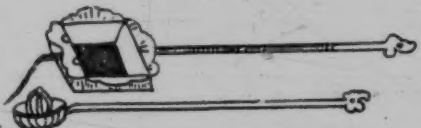
tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four [792] fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

764 372 792 Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

764 Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[645 cont.]

764 [783] [792] All who participated at the cremation wash their hands and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.



[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja. [532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 795 792 [778] The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

[778] 20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[645 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
795 back and forth, but in all probability
792 it is to catch the mirror images of the
boys who have been brought before the
Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age,
receive the age-consecration and become a member of the
monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman,
from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring
[783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica-
[372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed
766 with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of
[792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the
nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and
no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of
[372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to
it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is
desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
days for the bone storage. During these three days the members
602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there,
kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the
father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea.
Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the
men and women of the deceased's own family and at least
one man, but no women, of the related families, and further-
more the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The
relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the
[782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of
thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones
out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.
[765] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest
[769] is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to
[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's
[776] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the
[778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is
[823] sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The
[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[646 cont.]

000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 [769] At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small [561] [593] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 769 [782] As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] [177] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sēn-min̊ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The [777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

765 [769] [777] [Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. [764] On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

[177] The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

[782] During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. [178] In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 784 [574] [796] [262] Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[647 cont.]
765 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
784 food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary.
One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves,
and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival,
at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery,
the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no
ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost
775 nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do
fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims
on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune,
and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering
to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray
for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is
carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the
adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes [775] prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and [776] their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin. [588]

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the
morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late
evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her
own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over
his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse,
piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it.
Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until
the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still
smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume
the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however,
764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation
like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer,
and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who
[588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the
mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has
766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies
without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one
[782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, however,
[604] the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting
concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is
involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a
death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as
drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation
or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If
766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama
is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the deceased
[212] on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of
grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into
which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All
the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 766 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes [212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

[171] 23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212]

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.
To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.
He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin,) = transformed sitting.
Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia - he has flown away. yṻ-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.
Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.
[775] He is reborn: hă̈rga (xara) rë̆dzia = he has come back; sdziewa.
One has put him in the crouching position: ndãnlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.
The dead person: guei woldzä̆n kun = departed person.
Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bō̆w-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.
Death lament: dō̆ tẹdzi ula.

192 [649 cont.]

764 Death box: odõṅ.

Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.

[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.

Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.

To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mōsë.

Prayer tea: rgē tsia.

[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzän kunë xuęnuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.

Prayer fee for the lama: mbō (Tib. loanword).

Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.

192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.

601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.

Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroġ. Those with different family names.

[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]

[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġān yęsëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).

Mother's brother: nëġã; achiù (Chin.).

Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).

Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).

Sister: agū.

Daughter: fsdzün.

192 He died as a rider: tsũrog morina bagaldilã sdzia fugudzia.

764 He died as a settler: sãńrëdzi liela guei wōldzia.

Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.

Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).

Lighting pole: xuãmbar.

Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.

Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).

769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sẽń-miń (21) [see Note 21 above].

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[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.
[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).
Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes. [262]

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

241

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

114

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113] 1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thankoffering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.] detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger. [178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China. [756]

Report

241
782 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them. [756] [535] [443]

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754 The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's
[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron
or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry
[535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance
before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all
[787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great
trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

000 2. The Pole-goat *

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782 756 [292] 2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose [776] chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

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778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[825] [824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. [782] A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

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[264] In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions.

[824 cont.]

241 This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In
789 the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made,
791 which represents the four others; there is also the weather-
[778] torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges
are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the
[782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer
services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest,
[465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation.
In the case of the simple erection, without any
summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf
of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the
789 soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period
from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day
791 in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine
787 the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the
numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner
determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest
789 mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain
and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do
778 it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is
[621] chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by
[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]
241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the
pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there,
start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the
ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He
merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table
[562] soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up,
etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands
and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For
the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
778 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit
open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned
[252] goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

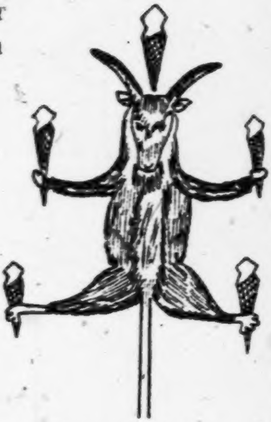
[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the grouhd.

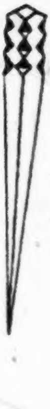
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright
[252] on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men
fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down
before the Bon priest.

[532]

[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]



The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen



Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest in-
789 scribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They
778 have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-
edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3
[791] centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region
there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824] 7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that [765] formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[826 cont.]

241 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before
the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic
789 formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or
778 the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the
791 head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the
[212] head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying
in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with
these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and
one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.
[788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and
pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times,
and scatters it over the whole.

241 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The
789 men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones
and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms
791 usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set,
782 the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra
features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately
[821] returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer.
[823] Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the
bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst
blowing on the conch.

241 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is
prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid
789 with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about
778 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter
colored red and is given the following extra features: on the
first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle,
and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally
a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals,
deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and
a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the
air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and,
further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]

241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

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[782]
3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas
[791] in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes
[782] back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

241 The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from
789 his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the
782 direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master
[791] takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a threefold kowtow.

241 With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining
789 meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon
791 priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

[828 cont.]

The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
241 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
789 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
791 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In
former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time
782 and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the
weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dãntsien Sãṅ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.]
The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the
[791] Tujen the Bon priest has a special
connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dãntsãṅ (Dãntsien Saṅ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulõṅ and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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[776]

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.] Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778] Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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> [Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.] weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. [535] At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. [765] The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat:	aradziãń (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.
[778]	ima rĕdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.
The goat:	ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirĕdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

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8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnaġ: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuax (8) [see Note 8 above] šdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snaġ (sēnoġ).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuãndie; sẽnoġsa (snaġsa) (Tib. loanword).
peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsioṅ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnaġ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasġa (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [776] [264] After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 782 787 [791] Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits concerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

241 782 787 in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šenliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103]

[797]

[778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

241 782 [Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787] [735] 2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzēn sawa bi pēngē, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

241 782 825 Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 782 [829] [621] Such families, however, must make their contribution. The main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the [202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

241 782 783 Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

241 782 787 Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 782 231 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]
241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
782 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on
231 the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When
the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the
head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with
the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
782 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled
252 with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The
eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart.
The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out,
and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can
be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help ~~with the~~ cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
782 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There
791 is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits,
[776] this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer
continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and
with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776 4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[833 cont.]

241 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced
782 everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agri-
171 cultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.]
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231 The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

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782 In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seed-master or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.] have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladē xoni šēnlie- (šēnlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin ugṳo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzēn sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 [778] As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulōñ (1); the way there takes an entire day each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] [787] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

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1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulōñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] Details

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

241 [Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
782 but only for the period of the sowing
624 festival with the cult dances. -- The
794 Christian missionaries have taken
[171] over this arrangement for their
[797] ecclesiastical celebrations and folk
festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

241 It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several
782 soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all
791 appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from
outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziañ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The
241 procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the
782 seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the
coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or
fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the
[628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages
join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also,
[346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at
[787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple
or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the
books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al-
[801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

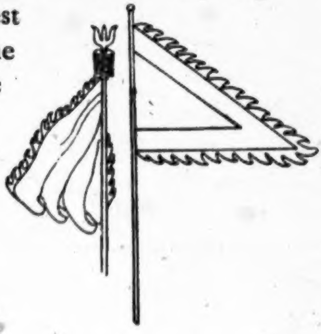
6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [ie - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
782 tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the
533 conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large
and is carried on a belt in front of the chest
so that it can be beaten on both sides. The
conch shell is the same as that used at the
incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the
cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

241 Among the flags there are black,
782 red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are
also flags with pictures, for example,
of the mountain-spirit. Many flags
also have Chinese sayings sewed on
[532] them, usually in white. There are
no special Tujen names for the flags.
The number is arbitrary.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as
desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper
[177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens,
that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit
[791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking
and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of
787 offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging
him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling
him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

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782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.] The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziãn̓ (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

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241 [838 cont.]
782 Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) - young-seed-master.
[624] Trumpet: dõṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
[794] Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoğē (?).
[534] ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books: luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers: luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600 VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

Report

778 When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the
825 harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family,
a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god
[777] desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god
[782] and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

[787]
[791]

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* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

791 into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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791 Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[840 cont.]

Details

778 Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes
787 place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in
[783] the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the
great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be:
562 an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]
778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men,
562 such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and
consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
825 hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In
[783] the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration
plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because
the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor.
Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently
chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulōn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.] chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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[492]

[435]

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields. [178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing. [688] [782]

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

[262] [432] Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away, for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

[422] There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

[787] Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

[776] There are gods who ride the animals, for instance, Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulōn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [i.e. - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

778 -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the [825] deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.] There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as [192] for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien, but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is [825] not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]
The second name is *šdier*; *šdier* corresponds to the Mongolic *seter*; cf. DMF, p. 335, "*sdier*, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. *seter*, ord. *se't'er id.*" [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with *šdier*. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A.Unkrig (communication), *seter* is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. *seter* also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For *seter*, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents *bsruṅ rtags*. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination *bsruṅ rtags*.

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[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

[211] Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

778 171 isolated instances do they copy it from the Tujen, where they live with them. The Fandse (Tangut) and also the lamic monasteries do have the animal-consecration. There it is much more solemn (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 844.] The animal-consecration among the neighboring Chiahsifan in Benbar (Hsi-ch'uan) is similar to the one described here. There, however, one only takes animals capable of reproduction, but no asses. The preferred colors are chestnut-colored hide with black mane and black tail (hung-tsao-liu) and eggshell-colored hide with black mane and black tail (yin-k'uo). In place of a band of material one takes small hand-sized rags (cut in the form of streamers) in the five sacred colors and ties them together. Usually they are tied in the mane. -- The consecration is not performed by private persons, but by the lama, shamans, or Bon priests. A one-day prayer service is connected with it. -- The animals are usually kept for use in the house, and even ridden, but a saddle that a woman has used may never be put on them. The renewal takes place every year on the same day of the first consecration.

One sees many riders with such beribboned animals.

[842 cont.]

Word List

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778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.
To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.
[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.
Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).
Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).
Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.
On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.
In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.
On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the
ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the
little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may
do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes
along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take
care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for
this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[484] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the
[415] time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color),
a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must
782 be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 [778] [792] Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

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> [Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

[791] [787] On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [792] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]
789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the
saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
791 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who
756 escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying
and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the
demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows
the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

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[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzoñwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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Report

789 In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
[782] and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

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[1] [i.e - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST]

[847 cont.]

Details

789 751 755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

789 791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789 782 791 [534] The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell, bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door.
Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them
778 thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake,
frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [787] [791] [532] [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen. [782] [171] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
789 [778] Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon, rĕgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawoġ: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuăndzie (xuăndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[829] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā́.
Hen: taġu.
Pig: xgę.
Dog: noġuę (noxue).
Snake: moġuę.
Frog: šbawoġ (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā́.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdë.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolġuē yäsë.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

000 4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

755 [192] 1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõṅ in rdzõńwa is the same as in dzõṅrë. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter. [789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] [357] [784] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter. [756]

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

532 [171] [789] 2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them *wu-tao shen*. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the *shen-hsien t'ung-chien* as *wu-tao lei-shen*, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air,
[787] and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him.
With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171] 5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to
[789] animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally
755 actual animals might have
782 been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

[851 cont.]

755 756 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 789 [787] [756] Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immediately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

[778] 3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] [787] [756] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

192 755 Figure-conjuration:	rdzõnwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõnwa or dzõnre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). sir[illegible]dzin: Mongolic sira ṁodon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men):	rdzõnrẽ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat:	tõgõ maxa.
Black food-bowl:	xara iġa.
Black vessel:	xara pẽndzẽ.
Knife:	tsidẽguo.
Magic dagger:	siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain:	fsiasġa.
Iron from the town gate:	badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few
[787] kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held
flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[357] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
[784] shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
755 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
756 lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house
into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword,
while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle,
and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it.
Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen.
The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-
mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not
bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with
one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out
756 with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The
latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them
into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the
flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in
the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed,
and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free
hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand.
Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes
into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman,
who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man.
Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a
hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare
tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the
sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of
fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare
in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard
wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall
it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to
him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror,
places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it.
Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[853 cont.]

755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

192

Word List

755 Washing the sick:	ġuãndzi (xuãndzie) fdzẽ šdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiǵuo.
Lock:	tsũrǵuo.
Red-hot stone:	sȍdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dẽrasẽ.
Flowers:	tsidziǵ.
Prayer texts:	dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayãṅ: Mongolic ḑayaġan (pronounced ḑayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

Details

755 Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism:
789 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked
in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are sev-
[416] eral. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-
pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with
oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow.
The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil
and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to
two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are
plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just
be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine
point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or
[778] sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long
smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper
third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely
through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms.
-- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[171] 3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulōn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

[854 cont.]

755 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to
789 fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756] 1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before
[787] the exorcism the shaman divines,
with barley on his protective
mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a
crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the
fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the com-
[782] pass. Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and
goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main
house or in the yard.

755 As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and,
running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound,
789 performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow
756 him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in
[787] the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes
mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so
[273] that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip
from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In
this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged
by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village
street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The
shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left
lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan
over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and
leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.] about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification:	rdzō̃ṅwa (rĕdzō̃ṅwa).
789 The torch:	huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones:	tašē; ša-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin:	ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow:	ġal sēmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow:	ġal lēmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip:	uluosē yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen:	taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man:	šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.

[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt
mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit.
Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the
tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending
on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn
is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone,
like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is
stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled
with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men
burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time
yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color,
about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow
neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom.
The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or
lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit.
At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why
white is used twice here, white
barley and white rice, is unclear.
Otherwise rice is never used among
the five kinds of grain and is not
even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps
[174] this is an indication of a southern
origin of the urn.

[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

[778] [386]

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[857 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
778 fortune, which consists of several
conchoidal eggs and is surrounded
with flames, nuru. This is found
very often in Lamaistic symbolism
and is also borne by the air-horse.
It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above:
"Customs concerning the Dead and
Cremation," Note 2.

782 Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who
792 possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for
it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in
his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the
monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household
may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama.
[791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, how-
ever, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants
to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a
lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one
wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches
[351] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the
[784]

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain,
there is a great number of treasure
urns, and special prayers are used
for each type. [859] The urns are
preferably buried in obos. -- In
[192] Kumbum the urns are usually called
beṅba, which seems to be the same
as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another
name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably
corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum,
treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing.
The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section,
[778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.]
792 comes from the fact that the urn is
[778] consecrated with certain conjuration
[192] formulas, sṅags (dha-rani), in other
words, represents a magic treasure.

[784] urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the
[357] household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

782 [778] [858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776] [777] Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

782 6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.]
778 According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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[171]
What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

Another group to be considered is sman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smān (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192 782	Earth-god:	ġlu (glē̈).
[776]	Earth-god urn:	sē̈noġ-der; sē̈noġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[778]	To buy an urn:	sē̈noǵ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē̆ (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.] Concerning rdzē̆, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling:	yilē tawa ndzuomlạdzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.
Urn binding:	ama budzin = opening-binding.
Sealing wax:	latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune:	nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
Buddha gold:	fo-chin (Chin.).
Coral:	tsurē.
Mother-of-pearl:	mădoġ (Tib. loanword).
[824] White rice:	tsiġan tudurġa; no-mi (Chin.).
Yellow rape:	sira yañsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar.
The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the
afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are
made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least
another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the
burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts
it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a
mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the
master of the household undertakes the great incense offering
in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate
and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now
rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-
place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a
small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and
thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 792 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- [784] [351] After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791] 1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõhgba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre- [562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple
yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to
[791] its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer.

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks
ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then
[792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines
a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma,
782 as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-
torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the
[792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of
[351] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring
[784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize
his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
782 three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members
of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals.
In summer, however, they are often already so moldy
that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is
similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise
set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth
day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents
the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is
also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts
it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it,
as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of
barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of
incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense
in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and
says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free
the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the
torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the
birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally
a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is
not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas,
but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is
therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is
placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the
rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the
tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the
particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only
fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is
popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as
an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free
of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for
the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; [753] one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 [792] Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the
74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and
in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate,
since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the
fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates
as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect
the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered
with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-
wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles
[792] the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them
taken to the household altar.

782 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction
532 with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer
determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects
[791] it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the
[792] consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed,
the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the
ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime.
[Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground,
just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring
string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle
that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed.
Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden
or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,
namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side.
The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and
when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain.
The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the
frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

[864 cont.]
782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).
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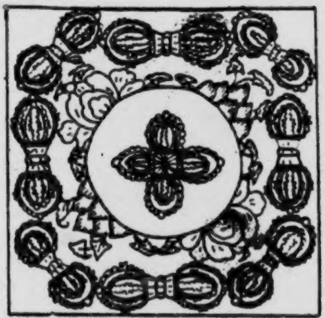
4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As
other people and lamas relate, there
is a great assortment of different
ground-drawings which evidently
merely represent variations of the
mandala. My informant, for in-
stance, had one of his relatives
draw the above-described figure.
He explained it in the following
way [868] (see figure below):
The thunderbolts represent the
four principal directions and the
four directions between them.
The circle with the crossed thunder-
[772] bolts signifies the foundation of the
world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for
this rests on a golden disk. The
thunderbolts signify the rest and
stability and durability of the world's
foundation. Originally they were
supposedly made of gold as a sign
of their indestructibility. The
[824] peonies are supposed to be the sum-
bol of the flourishing familial good
[325] fortune. The same meaning also
underlies the thunderbolt that is



Mandala at the fire-pouring.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[351]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws [532] a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day, [792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan [372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both [783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept [372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it 792 in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

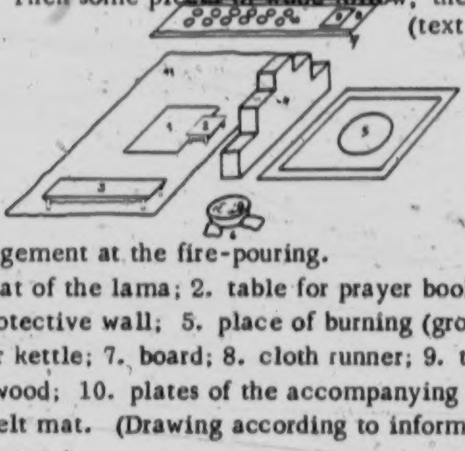
[866 cont.]

782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood 792 with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole. [372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately, [372] the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of

(text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

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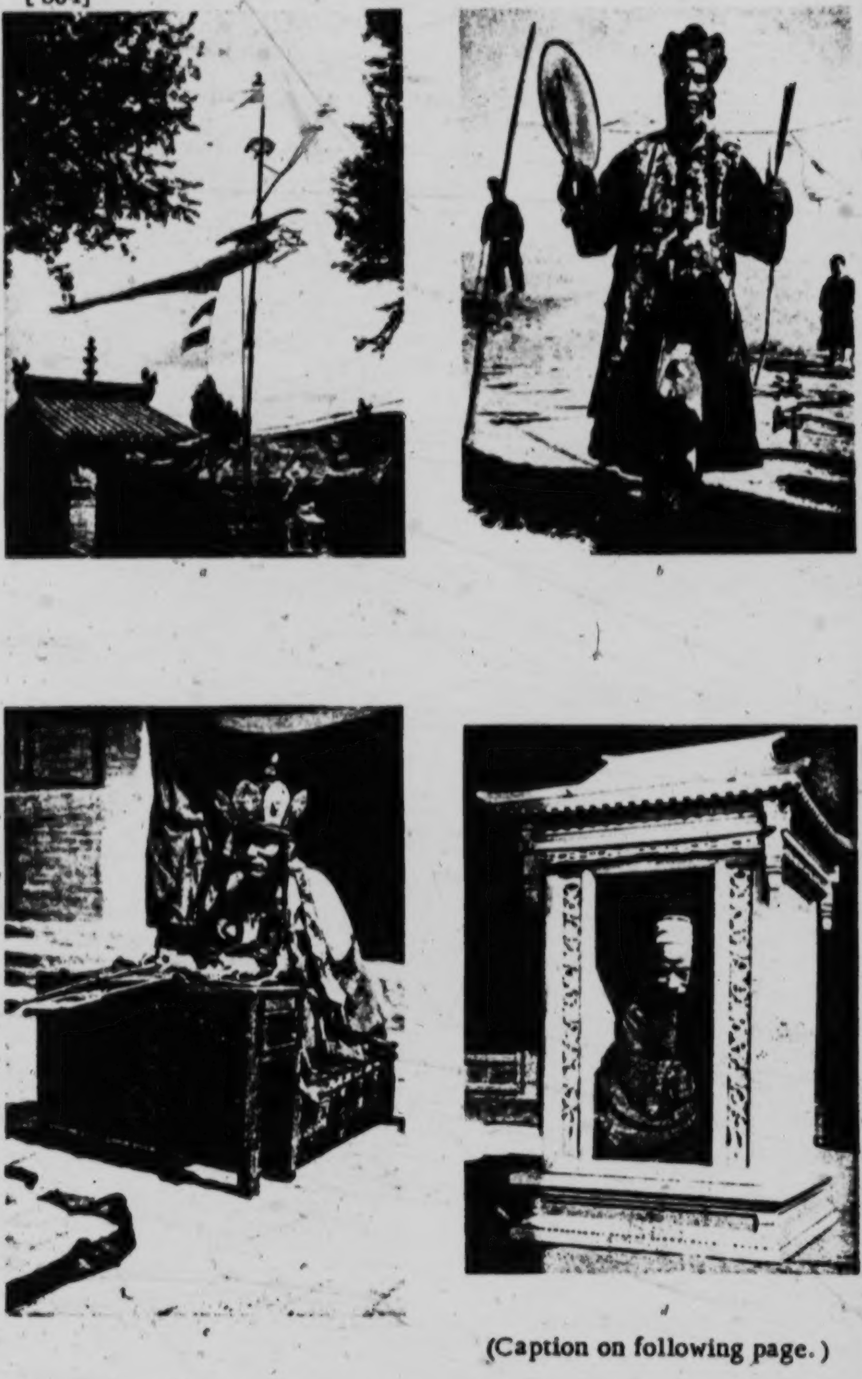

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[292] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[865 cont.]

782 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different
776 fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the
fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the
horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced
Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods.
Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The
tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which
they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the
782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow,
[824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black,
black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three
fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring
in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

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184 6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

782 184 [Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 [302] [792] [372] The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[792] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is
[755]

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7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsēġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiń ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsioġ and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsioġ fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsioġ (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsioġ with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 792 [171] just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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8. [Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guãm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
192 of Tangkar the following details and
782 variations:

Fire-pouring: *żüin* *(yüin)-tsēġ*; cf. the Tujen corruption *dzun-tsioġ*.

Ground-drawing (mandala): *sdziṅkuor* (Tib.).

Separation wall: *lămbān* (Tib.). Cf. *lăngaṅ* (Tujen) and *lan-kan* (Chin.).

Pouring spoon: *rgāṅ* *zär* (Tib.).

Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): *tombō* (Tib.).

Firewood (which is placed in octagonal
824 form on the burning-place) *xsiġ* *ġa* (Tib.).

192 Consecration-wood (which is thrown with
782 the spices into the fire): *yăm* *šēṅ* (Tib.); cf. the Tujen word *yiew* *siṅ*.

Wood for the white fire-pouring: *nia-rĕx* (Tib.) or, according to another pronunciation, *niăw* *rsēġ* (Tib.); *hsi-fan* *liu* (Chin.) = Tibetan willow; *chi-chua* *liu* (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.

Black thorn: *tsērnaġ* (Tib.); or *sdzirwa* (Tib.); *xara* *tsitsērnaġ* (Mongol.).

Wood for the red fire-pouring: *uombō* (Tib.); *balaġ* (Mongol.); *sa-liu* (Chin.), probably the High Chinese *sha-liu* (= sand willow) is meant.

Tamarisk: *sōgā*. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say *so-kai* for it, evidently an approximation of the sound, I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

192 782 [824] [322] Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778] Fire-torma: dãmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngĕ dźiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żūin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: džoġguei dżiwi żūin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

192 782 824 Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšō (Tib.); budĕ (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sō (Tib.); sōtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõngur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[824] [Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Butter-tsamba: sũosẽn (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.

Blue flowers: džëyăṅgë (Tib.); gōxu (according to another dialect, kōku) dzidzigẽ (Mongol.); lãn-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.

Individual additions: tsiawar rdzē (Tib.).

All kinds of additions: ondõṅ rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

[824] Monk's herb: durẽwā (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulãn (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsioġ (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsüordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kãnbõ: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gãṅsăr: Tibetan gaṅ sa? = tube. -- [824] dziãṅgõn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsaṅ = Tib. province, and sṅo = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[866 cont.]

192 [Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
782 help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. --
[824] gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) =
[776] botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- săndõṅmani:
can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ
(Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face,
maṇi = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsëni:
can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta =
horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also
voice; in other words: the horse-necked one,
or the horse-voiced one. -- logõṅ: Tibetan
klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoń =
face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face
(Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.
[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.
Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smăn (Tib.).
dalăn dierăn sămba smăn = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]
[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.
Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.
[333] Wall: lăńgãṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gãṅsăr (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gãṅsăr = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).
[372] Cloth fan: ki yũelwa = air-cloth.
rlõṅ yăg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosë.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuămbar.
782 Flint and steel: kidie.
[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.
Ordinary fire: arãṅka ġal.
At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surĕwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.
At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mō iliesgĕ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).
[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.
Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siñ (Tib.).
192 Tibet-herbs: dziãṅgõṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.
824 Tibet-flowers: kănba (Tib. loanword).
ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).
White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwā (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).
Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).
Tamarisk?: guănbō (xuănbo); sōgă.
Poplar wood: mōdĕ = wood.
White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.
Black thorn: xara rĕguodzĕ.
192 Horse-god: šdamtsĕni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
782 ma-wang (Chin.).
Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).
776 Lion-god: săndõṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].
Water-faced Buddha: logon rĕdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[202]

Conclusion*

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* For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliography there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

121 with their religion is justified all
771 the more since it has preserved the
174 pre-Buddhistic form in a much less
corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

121 It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive con-
771 sideration was given to this, so that now it is already established
[171] that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors
do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[203 cont.]

I. The Total Religious Picture

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1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called *purġan*, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (*tieṅġĕre*), the mountain-spirit (*yifula*), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (*ġlu*; *itoġa*). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

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The lower deities can all be included under the generic name *purġan*. The word *purġan* is none other than the term customary in the literature, *Burchan* (*Burkhan*, *Burkan*), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound *Bud(dah)-Khan*; see W. Schmidt, *UdG*, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there *Burkan* predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, *purġan* supposedly arose from the Mongolic *suburġan*. The word *suburġan* in turn is derived from the Tibetan *spur-k'aṅ*, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a *u* was inserted between the *s* and the *p* for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from *spur*, through the transformation of the *p* (which the Mongols do not have) to *b*, the word *subur* arose. The *n* in *k'an* is slurred into a simple *n*.

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With *suburġan* (*spur-k'aṅ*) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan *mc'od-rten*, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]
192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an
idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist
pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot
stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[791] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the
[787] divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the
great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes
from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the
buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance
among the people that might be expected. They know of
796 Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth
535 day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of
Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow
Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha,
791 and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call
sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full
788 warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This
756 Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people
than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with
the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people.
Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purǵan, the
world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called
753 ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune,
777 failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the
731 plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom
the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com-
782 bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all
the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the
Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

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774 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration: *namsǖ* (*namšē̈*) and *suniedzē̈*. The word *namsǖ* is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan *ñams-su*. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but *ñams* alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The *su* could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates *namsǖ* not with *ñams-su*, but with the Tibetan *rnam šes*, pronounced *nam-śe*. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word *suniedzē̈* has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic *sǖnesǖn*. Both *namsǖ* and *suniedzē̈* signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: *nigē̈* 774 *kundu ġuran namsǖ-i*, or *nigē̈ kundu suniedzē̈ ġuran-i*; that is: 775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? *toro͠ń yesē̈ saġdzini*, *ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini*, *ġurandani iliedu furani* (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, *op. cit.*, refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," *Anthropos*, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition, [171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these ~~three souls is that the~~y can separate themselves from the body.

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764
604 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at least until the rite of the *bǟda* has been completed, whereby it is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[205 cont.]
775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. There-
764 fore among the people he is accordingly called tsiġan yęsë daxu,
604 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is,
"bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation,
at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed
except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its
775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group accord-
ing to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to
the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesë yan-i? Bones
and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has
grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life
principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How
is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-
master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the
latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting.
But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar
custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the
Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S.
M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the under-
world: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing
which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai
'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case be-
fore allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which
Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex,
p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master
of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the
bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands
an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead per-
son's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free
for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could
not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among
the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this
direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
[769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

[1] [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 614 604 764 [769] practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, however, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the băda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 171 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita) and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 171 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell, which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which 775 764 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in contrast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explanations [171] correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 776 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the [764 782] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come 775 776 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It becomes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee 589 [765] from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female [588] person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaġ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudaġ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely
to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171 are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offerings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
769] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764 the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
782] so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
774 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[573] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
[753] is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils, for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[756 soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
755] catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 778 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center. [782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

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2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[209 cont.]

772 778 [614] [351] time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family, of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

772 [210 cont.]
with it (3).

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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens* [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, *Muan Bpö*, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name *srog šiń*, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (*Dictionary*, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this *srog šiṅ* is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (*sõṅ-śiṅ*) in the chorten chamber; cf. *Anthropos* 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

[210 cont.]

772 the arrow of good fortune of the
778 Tujen, they have a basket. In it,
171 among other things, there is a
miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called *Ssu*, Tibetan *srog lha*. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (*t'a*, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, *Naga Cult*, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. *Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien* [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 *passim*.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god *tsao-chün*, which is also called *ssu-ming* (director of life). This as a
772 brief reference.

778 A special work concerning the

[210 cont.]

772 [778] gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. [171] They are recently elaborated vari[illegible]ts from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lūdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of the Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modē ġadasē) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasē). [821] Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasē: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasē because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasē means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its close connection with human beings, one would also expect
779 a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212]

3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to
what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering,
slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the
incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeṅlie, which corre-
sponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance,
šdimie šeṅlie-, to offer bread; tsidziġ šeṅlie-, to offer flowers;
xonini šeṅlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression
šeṅlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic
offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads.
Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that
smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, im-
plies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense
offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a
Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine,
butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for
instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree,
the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are
poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs
here, too.

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration,
which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under šdien) mentions, unless the
shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child
to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow
[831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign
[302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103.
One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a
[588] girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf.
Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the
771 people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujens. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
782 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when
788 they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yaṅdzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošē, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

771
5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[215 cont.]

771 structure that has developed in the course of centuries. It is
174 similar to the religion of the Mongols generally, which Pallisen in his dissertation would like to designate as syncretism. This is found even more among the Kansu Mongols, the Tujen. This syncretism is understandable for two reasons, one psychological and one historical.

Viewed psychologically, the East Asian, including the Mongol, is inclined to negotiation, to compromise, and to understanding toleration. The informant has formulated this accurately: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the paths are different" (cf. "Introduction," *Anthropos*, 47, 1952, p. 12)[p. 12 above in the HRAF translation]. One does not want to bind himself exclusively to one particular way, but wants to examine everything from a practical utilitarian viewpoint to see what is conducive to his happiness and well-being. One tries this with all the gods and is gladly prepared to take up into his heaven any useful spirit. Even Christianity in China would [216] long ago have fallen victim to this inclination, if it were not so decisively intent on a dogmatic and ritual separation. Otherwise one could soon rediscover it with its figures of saints, doctrines, and rites, say, in Lamaism, just as in actual fact such an influence is assumed from early Christian times.

The history and distribution of the Tujen has greatly favored this spiritual readiness and has brought them into close contact with the various religions. Whoever the original Tujen may be, all those who have reported about them are agreed that they have an active history of migration behind them and that their basic stock is Mongolic. Aside from their migrations, perhaps for several centuries in their present location, even if they have maintained their linguistic and racial peculiarities, they have had active intercourse with the most varied peoples, such as the Tangut, the former rulers of Amdo, with the Mongols of the various waves of invasion, and finally with the Chinese pressing in after them. Probably their original faith in pre-Lamaistic times was determined extensively by the Bon doctrine of the Tangut, until the Yellow Church from neighboring Kumbum then brought all Amdo under its influence. Finally,

[216 cont.]

771 174 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corresponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

771 792 174 This peculiar position, conditioned by history and environment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is give given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A. Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Êrh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguān [538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[217 cont.]

771 174 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 128 756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771 1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished. [538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[*217 cont.*]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [*sic*] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [*218*] Chinese, also Buddhists" (*Tibetreise* [Tibet Journey] , I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share ~~the~~ same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rĕġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, *rĕġuo* and *tieṅgĕre*. The word *rĕġuo* is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent *oktarġui*, which is to be equated with the Tibetan *mk'a* or *nam mk'a* or *gnam*, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include *oktarġui*, there is none in which *oktarġui* is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from *tengri* (*tieṅgĕre*) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, *rĕġuo* is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective *kuġuo* (blue, light, bright), for instance, *kuġuo rĕġuo undurwa* (the blue sky is high). The *kuġuo rĕġuo* (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] *xara gadzier* (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xẹla; kuġuo
rĕġuoni dzindzini xẹla (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
192 light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rĕġuo has
[825] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light
[539] and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of
the rĕġuo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder,
"Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rĕġuo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieṅgĕre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieṅgĕre

772 tieṅgĕre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
192 adjectives as the word rĕġuo, in other words, with kuġuo (blue),
821 undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuġuo tieṅgĕre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
192 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the
821 word *rĕġuo* that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word *tieṅgĕre*. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
776 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
192 the name *tieṅgĕre* and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or
174 of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, *Religionsgeschichte* [History of Religion], p. 256, *UdG*, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name *tieṅgĕre* used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development *Tengri* meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, *Tengri* was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic *Deva*, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]
772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
192 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many
174 priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op.cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgē̈re there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgē̈re. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgē̈re as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgē̈re of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgē̈re alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it
with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tieñgĕre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
in the constantly used formula: šge tieñgĕre, uluon purǧan (the
192 great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purǧan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

776

b) The Heaven Cult

782 After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word torõṅ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni torõṅ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini torõṅ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as torõṅ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the conscious-
773 ness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzūlġano, tsiani toroṅni kuġuo tieṅgĕrdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]
782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the
demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of
human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the
barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they
rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And
when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering
to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their
heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other
words, even before the people were able to make use of the
blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in
the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

[222 cont.]

782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These, however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

[824] 4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J. F. Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

[223 cont.]

782 539 beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One
ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty,
he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi
šge fdzaṅ ġarġani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first
emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When
he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense
spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great
incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzaṅni
ġarġadzi kuġuo tieṅgĕrni yaṅdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe
another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers
[824] flowers (kānba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of
the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water
from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high
mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored
the countless spirits... (undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzaṅni
ġarġaya, šge tieṅgĕrni yaṅdzilaya, uluon purġani yaṅdzilaya...)."
The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but
heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact
that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purġan is mentioned
by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in
Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first
emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke
[776] of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted
Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ (= the highest heaven lord) looked down."
(Udurdu fdzaṅ ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzaṅni ġarġano,
fdzaṅni funini tieṅgĕrni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ
dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is
unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the
Šdeṅlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the
heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222,
runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the
great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense
pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieṅgĕrni šge udie
tada kurdzia. šge fdzaṅni funini tieṅgĕrni udieni baġa niedzia.)
On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that
the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven
will succeed.

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense-offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white kănba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow kănba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzańbeń ġarġaya, šge tieńgëre amudadzi, uluon purġan yańdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white kănba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzańni ġarġaya; šge fdzańni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal incense
174 offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad
odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of
the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to
these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are
distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go
[773] back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the
Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that
the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A.H.Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-
Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already
been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and
they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as
is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the
782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

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6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the incense
174 offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

7. The ancient nature of the incense
[824] offering is to be explained in the final
[773] analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

[823] [773] 8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a [756] living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to [773] heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings
[241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[225 cont.]

782 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer
241 [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural
782 rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes
241 place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to de-
174 termine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drumbeating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 241 174 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 788 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated, and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yaṅdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieṅgĕre mudie (heaven knows); and tieṅgĕre tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieṅgĕre [174]

[227 cont.]

782 *mudie* is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and 788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is [174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 776 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the designation *tieńgëre* is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression *šge tieńgëre*, *uluon purġan* (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," *op. cit.*, p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 776 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom *Šdeńglatsien Sań* is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[227 cont.]

773 called *tieṅgëre* here as the dwelling place of the gods. He has
776 a spouse, sons and daughters, a magnificent residence, a splendid army. In short, the emperor of heaven and his realm are pictured in detail according to human conceptions of earthly khans. At the request of the earthly emperor his son is reborn in this world in order to free them from the evildoers. This is Geser Khan.

Next to this figure, however, there continues to exist the formless old *tieṅgëre*, [228] as the above-mentioned citations from the Geser legend show. He is venerated through incense offerings, and one prays to him. Here is an old conception that has been taken into the legend. The legend itself is not of Mongolic origin, but perhaps belongs in the world of the Bon with their Tibetan homeland. Despite its repudiation by the Buddhists, it was embellished with many Buddhist additions, and the lamas play a certain role in it. Now, however, every people that claims the legend as its own, including the Tujen, has further incorporated its own material in it and wants to see in it in some way or another the foundation of its old popular customs. Therefore even if the figure of the heaven-emperor is accepted, the old *tieṅgëre* nonetheless remains alive in the consciousness of the people and also makes his entry into the Geser legend; indeed, he continues to exist as the supreme deity in rank, regardless of whether this can be harmoniously reconciled with the other heavenly figure or not. The attitude of the people can best be rendered by the passage already cited above and given here in more detail, Verses 158 ff.: "Climbing onto the high mountain, he burned great incense, implored heaven (*tieṅgëre*), implored the countless spirits (*purġan*), implored *Ṡdeṅlatsien Saṅ*, implored *Warintsien Saṅ*, implored *Sëma Lortsien Saṅ*." In other words, heaven comes first, and only after the other gods the three rulers of heaven. The preeminent position of heaven cannot be more clearly expressed. It also clearly shows, however, how here two views still not blended together go along side by side and how little the people trouble themselves about inner coherence, but cling to what they have. The *tieṅgëre* is the most important deity to

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The *Šdenlatsien Sañ* has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept *purğan*, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit *yifula*. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, *ri-bo*
lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this
192 name, translated it, however, with the Chinese *Shan-shen pao*
(mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf.
above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads,
however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to
W.A. Unkrig, this is found in the combination: *ibel* (protection)
and *ula* (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation
corresponds to the Chinese translation. *Yifula* thus would be
appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo
festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is
repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too --
as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied
an important position; cf. "The Obo," *Anthropos*, 47, 1952,
pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a
mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches
over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees,
and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He
is the guardian of the *ayil* (village, tribe) and guards its
weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The moun-
[553] tain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who
[756] are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is alto-
[787] gether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
776 *ġlu* is doubtless the Tibetan *klu*, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic
[192] the word for it is *lu*, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese *lung* (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (*op. cit.*, pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name *itoga* or, in the prevocalic version, *etügen*, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves *udugan*

[229 cont.]

174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of
the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W.A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

[230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the
776 Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an
ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the
[821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space,
the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit
rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human
[823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity
rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these
characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[230 cont.]

776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then 782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieṅgëre undur guei; tieṅgëre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, ~~to~~ be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mō gedzi yidza, tieṅgëre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieṅgëre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one [772] wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the [782] offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieṅgëre džoġ nãṅladzia; tieṅgërdza perlõṅgë bōdzi rëdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 577 626 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sẹn sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
A much-used expression is: "tieṅgēre dardzia, heaven has
626 punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolğue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieṅgërni amudadzi, nig[illegible]isĕni dzawa dãṅlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani[illegible]e in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn
tieṅgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[232 cont.]

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Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," *op. cit.*, p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (*arãṅ sũndẽ lama* = P'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, *sẽmtsien kuni darladzia* (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself. [241]

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzēne tieṅgēre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
192 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say,
171 that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžēl, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzēl.

šdiemdzēl, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moṅġol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžēlgē rēdziġlaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay ([illegible] build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžēl would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžēl cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džēl, however,

[233 cont.]

777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic *dsol* (*dzol*). According
to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation.
776 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent *stes* for it. When one notes
192 that the Tujen always insert an *i* before an *e* in Tibetan loanwords,
171 then the first syllable *šdie(m)* might be this Tibetan *stes*,
whose final *s* is silent. The *m* would then be inserted in
assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning,
the Tujen translate *šdiemdžēl* [234] with the Chinese *yün-ch'i* or
t'ien-ming. They also, however, render *kimori* in the same
way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven,
which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols
(*Vorstellungen*, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-
Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the *kimori* and
šdiemdžēl of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case
of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man,
called *zajači*, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person
is wealthy in his lifetime, *zajači* is also well-dressed, rides on a
horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, *zajači* disappears
into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (*op.
cit.*, pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen likewise
777 bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 i[illegible] jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has
171 almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva,
when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented
more toward the individual person, then in the case of the *sülde*
of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be
sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development
among the Chinggisiden made nine *Tengri* of good fortune out
of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov,
characterizes the *sülde* in the following manner (UdG., X,
p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses
its *sülde* . The *sülde* of the khan is a reflection of the *sülde* of
heaven ... The nine *sülde-tengri*, according to their character,
are always there in order to protect. They are represented in
warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone,
in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan,
which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply
separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

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2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the
corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bō-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

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a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

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192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic büge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic büge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P. P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

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[302] Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756
776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one
questions the people about it, one always receives the same
answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)."
Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion
of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This
is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a
trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when
they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum
and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in
groups before the image of the great mother in order to please
her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic
group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore
designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true
shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One
could regard the drum as the most important continuation from
Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and
Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has
almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as,
for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[236 cont.]
171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.)
The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from [illegible]im her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese [illegible]
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[237 cont.]

174 752 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 292 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest [177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[237 cont.]

756 292 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name *hu-fa*, which is a translation of *c'os skyoń* or *Dharmapala*. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (*Na-khi Kingdom*, I, p. 210, Note 26).

192 756 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen *sgurdien*, in Chinese *ku-erh-tien* or *ku-wai-tien*, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word *sku-rten*, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from *skur-bltams*, body shakers (F. Lessing, *Mongolen*, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), *rten* signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; *sku-rten*, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives *sku-rten* as an abbreviation of the three aspects *sku*, *gsuń*, *t'ugs-rten*. According to page 91, *sku-gsuń-t'ugs* are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five *c'os skyoń*, cf. further below. The expression *sku-rten*, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

[238 cont.]

752 [192] that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

756 171 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical" sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[114] 9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said upto now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and 756 recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 792 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

756 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer- 787 tain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, however, by no means excludes all magic. His special position suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171
756 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but receives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a different appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uniform type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen, p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bȫ (bȫge) and in Tujen bȫ, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[*240 cont.*]
171 *loc. cit.*, also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols;
cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "*Lajing*." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the *bō* (*fashih*) and the gurtum (*fa-la-tzu* or *ku-êrh-tien*).

[779] Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term *bō* (*bōge*, *bügü*) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of
the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word *sku* have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary
deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: *tabun xaǧan*) or "the protectors of the [*241*] doctrine" (Tibetan: *c'os skyoṅ*). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (*Archiv für Völkerkunde*, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the *sruṅ-ba* (*ma*). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the *wu-tao-shen* cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [*241 cont.*]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, *Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas* [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (*op. cit.*, p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community,but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility
that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the *c'os-skyoṅ*, for where is the boundary line between the

174 [*241 cont.*]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner
756 (*op. cit.*, p. 111) writes: "The relationships of *Pekar* and the
776 five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an
779 unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, *Pekar* and *dGra-lha*, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[*242*] Even the name *Pekar*, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of *gNas-c'uṅ*, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name *dPe-kar* from the Sanskrit word *vihārā* (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because *Pekar* is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word *Pekar* from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name *Pekar*, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of *Pekar* as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician *Padmasambhava* is supposed to have brought the demon *Pehar* or *Pekar* from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards *Pekar* as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by *Padmasambhava*." Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 163.

Just as *Pekar* is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five *c'os-skyoṅ*, so *dGra-lha* is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with *Srog-bdag* also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. *dGra-lha*, who like *Pekar* appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the rGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoṅ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzönga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
752 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum
becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes
in his book (*Quellen*, p. 194) of the *gNas c'uń* oracle: "He is,
therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and
to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close
to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205
he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth
in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon re-
ligion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however,
does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman.
The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the
hoop drum covered on one side (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 201). A kind
of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides
heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this
type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shaman-
ism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-
shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe
in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums
were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the
trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they
were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service.
The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (*op. cit.*, p. 203)
gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism described here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih 756 in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the [789] Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, who, to be sure, finally manifest 776] themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 776 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shamanism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 756 776 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359), and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also 756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not 776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, *Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa*. A special development is represented by the *sülde* banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 756 776 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors, and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply documented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen [523] [787] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the *ayil* (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, *Anthropos*, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like- [773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. *coyijung*). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Kūriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," *op. cit.*, p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan *co's-skyoṅ*. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preservation of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a *bosẽ*, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called *sgurdien*.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, *Chinese Clay Figures*. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), *op. cit.*, pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 [773] Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, however, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented [illegible]met of the *gNas-c'uń* gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[247 cont.]

174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
752 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamais-
779 tic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component
is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]
174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (character-
756 ized by the tree of life, etc.).

Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman
779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-
791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One
[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely
[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear 791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated 791 as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed 778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzēn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loudspeaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words, 778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an [174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there
778 is a lance (*mduṅ*) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as *Stabongonen*, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local *lha* are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the *Pekar* idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, *Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern*. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the *sülde* veneration. Now
[174] it is well possible that this very *sülde* cult was "co-converted" to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

[249 cont.]
171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the *rgyal-mtsan*, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped *sülde* of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in *Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft*, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each *ayil* (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distinguished
from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
Radde, *The Chewsuren*, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, *Begräbnis*,
pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
standards are not simply representations and localizations of
deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[250 cont.]

function similar to the cosmic twirling pole in the milky original ocean of the South Asiatic world myth; see F. Numazawa, Weltanfänge [Original World], p. 345. Mention was made earlier of the world-pole among the Tujen; cf. above, pp. 319 ff. The conceptions connected with it are an ancient Mongolic heritage among them. The "golden nail" representing the world-pole, from which the dome of heaven is suspended, is interpreted among the Olōt Mongols as a banner that stands on the world-mountain Sumeru, and around which all the stars revolve. The same conception is found among the Ordos Mongols, where the golden nail or polar star is called 'the golden banner of the mountain Sumeru.' Among the Chalcha [Khalkha] Mongols this polar-star pole, like the jewel-spear among the Japanese, becomes the twirler with which one beats kumiss; see Lüdtke, op. cit., pp. 115, 118. Lüdtke would like to put the transformation of the world-pole into a banner in a later period, when the Mongols already possessed an extensively developed military organization. The Japanese jewel-spear, however, indicates that the basis of this conception goes back far beyond the Mongolic era (11). Accordingly, Lüdtke's view should perhaps be corrected: "I would not want [251] to derive this whole

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11. The significance of the lance among the Ngadju Dajak [Dyak] in Borneo should be briefly pointed out here. The connection of lance, flag, tree of life, and "total deity" is still much more apparent and conscious there than in Central Asia and Tibet. Even the shamanistic priests as representatives of the "total deity" are much more strikingly involved in this conception than, for instance, the gurtum as representative of the god of life; cf. H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

[251 cont.]

171 778 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

756 778 Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

171 756 778 In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the symbolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc. into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient my- mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

[251 cont.]

756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective *sdier*, for instance, *sdier lẽmu*, *sdier sẽmu*, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with *sdier*, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the *sũlde* it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), *Le Chamanisme*, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[252 cont.]

756 still cannot explain its great significance and use.
778

The Other Idols

778 Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols.
791 These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

[776] The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

[776] This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purǵan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

[532] The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]

778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and
791 possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

791

3. The Bon Religion

779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[253 cont.]
791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably
not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become
most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole
distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order
thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon;
they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765 implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited
534] out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thighbone
flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed
to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female
person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which,
to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land
of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the
lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them,
especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are
even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first
and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these
rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a
striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as
Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary
life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance
of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially
appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are
certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
791 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain
779 a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit
it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however,
to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As
the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire
religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and
saints; it gives them the *mani*-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns,
chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank
for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must
differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and
monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down
customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and
tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be
unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent
effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked
with the people because their community is constantly renewed
from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least
in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen
of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to
Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be
underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a *Chi-*
t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century
through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese
revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (*T'u-szu*)
themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their
knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery *dGon-luṅ* is Tibetan.
[103] *dgon* (pronounced *gon*) means literally "solitude, hermitage."
In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (*vihāra*), because a monastery must be at least
1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das,
p. 275; *luṅ* means "valley, district." Thus, *dGon-luṅ* is best
rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]
792 [346] a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples, halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses, and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luṅ is simply the monastery. [103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luṅ byams-pa gliṅ, just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliṅ. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliṅ means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. 792 778 796 The main temple of dGon-luṅ contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide. It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be- [788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig- 792 nation Rgulõṅ (Rĕgulõṅ) is only a corruption of dGon-luṅ. Even 103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require- 792 [361] [346] [103] [175] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern ridge, which bears the name Tuguān-ula, Tuguān mountain (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[255 cont.]

792 175 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit. The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luṅ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luṅ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguãn Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-maṅ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luṅ received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

792 [651] [256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands, forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguãn Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

[256 cont.]

a place for the cultivation of knowledge, and the fame of its learned Tulkus released the Tujen from their seclusion and drew them into the extensive domain of the Lamaistic world. The "Geography of Tibet," written in the Tibetan language by the Minchu Hutukhtu from the monastery sGo-maṅ-dgon around 1830, reports: "... the monastery dGon-luṅ, in which one counts up to 2,000 clerics and where formerly there lived: the two reincarnations lCaṅ-skya and Sum-pa mk'an-po, the author of the 'History of the Yellow Cap Doctrine, Žva-ser c'os byuṅ,' T'uu-bkvan bLo-bzaṅ C'os-kyi Ni-ma, and other important learned personalities"; see MS, p. 40.

The importance of the lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu has already been mentioned above on page 331. The first lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu was born in 1641 in Amdo. His ancestors came from a region called the "Gray Meadows" (communication from Mr. Unkrig). This place name has been transferred to the person (lcaṅ-skya = meadow-gray). The child was recognized as a reincarnation of the Dharmaśvamin of the monastery dGon-luṅ and was called there at the age of eight. Then the young Tulku was sent to inner Tibet for study and returned again to Amdo until Emperor Kang-hsi called him to Peking. In the service of the emperor and of Lamaism the hutukhtu led an active life as church politician and scholar. His travels led him into Mongolia, to Tibet and Amdo, where, for instance, in 1709 he reformed the program of studies in dGon-luṅ and other monasteries and installed several Grand Lamas. He died in 1713; cf. Schulemann, pp. 177 f., where also further sources for a more detailed orientation concerning the hutukhtu and his earlier existences are given. The lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu was counted among the four great church princes of Lamaism. He resided later in Peking, beside the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama in Tibet, and the Jibtsun-Dampa in Mongolia; see Pander, "Geschichte des Lamaismus," ZfE, 1889, p. (202). In the European literature his name became known above all through Pander-Grünwedel's book, which under the title Das Pantheon des Tschang-tscha Chutuktu offers a description of the world of the Lamaistic gods, which is based upon an

[256 cont.]

792 illustrated work by this hutukhtu.

The other incarnation from dGon-luṅ, namely, the Tuguãn Hutukhtu, is similarly famous. There is no explanation of this name. Perhaps it is a transference from the place to his person; it is better, however, to assume that the name of the mountain goes back to the hutukhtu, rather than the other way around. The Chinese way of writing the signs of this name [Illustrations a and b appear here] [257] varies as T'u-kuan, Tou-kuang, or T'ou-kuang, an indication that the phonetic imitation of a possibly Mongolic (Tujen) name, say, Toġan, is involved here. The Tibetan way of writing T'uu-bkvan is likewise quite strange, and therefore, according to Ch. Das, p. 577, the Mongolic name Toġan is rendered. As the first Tuguãn Hutukhtu, Nag-dbaṅ c'os-kyi rgya-mts'o was called to Peking under Emperor Yung-cheng; he was born in 1679 and died in 1735; see Schulemann, pp. 178 f. The best known is his subsequent incarnation, the above-mentioned author of the work of religious history concerning the various Lamaistic and pre-Lamaistic systems and the Yellow Church; cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 181. He is supposed to have lived from 1702-1775 (communication from Mr. Unkrig). The Tuguãn Tulkus likewise resided in Peking for the most part, whereby the relations to their tribal monastery dGon-luṅ did not suffer further; it is the case even today that many hutukhtus travel outside the country for years, in Tibet, India, Mongolia. In 1948, the present Tuguãn Hutukhtu, according to the statements of his relatives from the Ch'ang-kou, had already been in Nanking in the ministry as expert for the Lamaist border region for more than two years. Curiously enough, his relatives were of the opinion that nowadays the Tuguãn and lCan-skya (Ch'ang-chia) incar-
[775] nations are no longer differentiated and appear in only one representative. No clarification could be obtained from these statements. There seemed to be rivalries between the Li Clan and the Ch'ang Clan, who both claimed the incarnation succession.

In view of the pre-eminent position that these hutukhtus occupied in Peking, it is not surprising that many Tujen lamas

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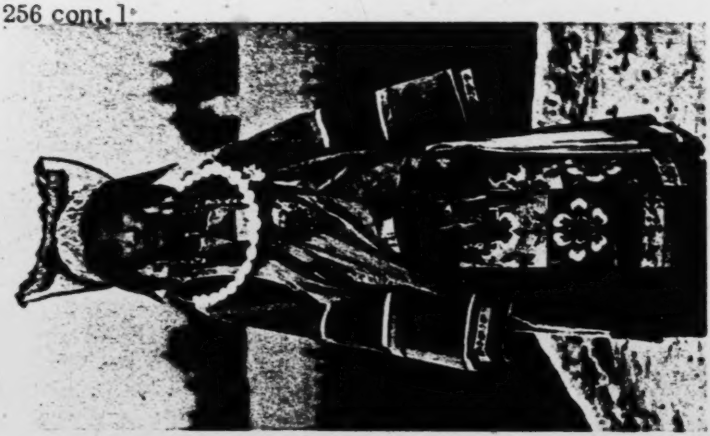

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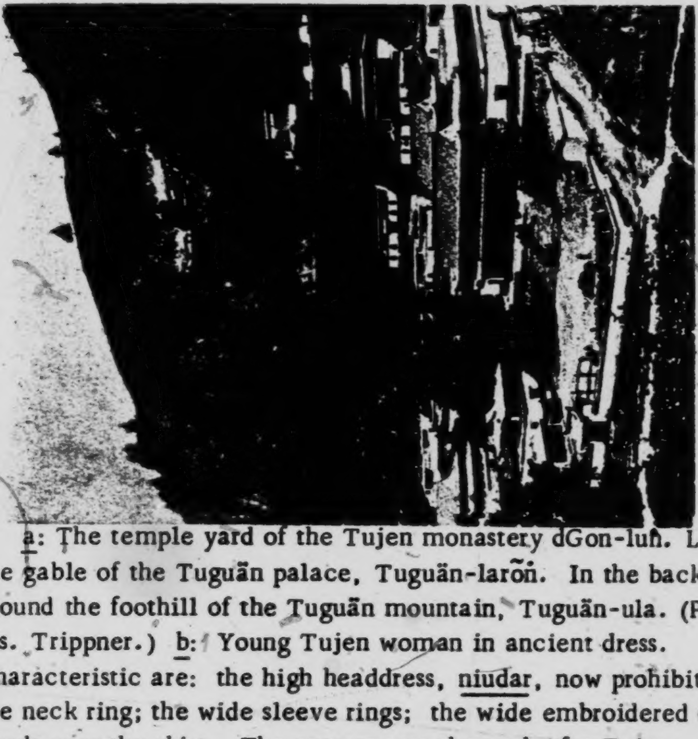

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-laroñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress.
142 Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited;
292 the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth
301 bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen
531 princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

[257 cont.]
792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or
Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples
in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however,
could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists,
and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander.
The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen
lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its
monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the
monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be
sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
792 their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened
[796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they
see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls
[778] and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur
and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the
sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to ful-
fill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks
hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers.
They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their
compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate
the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest
in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every
[778] family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it
was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
however, the young people no longer want to know anything
792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
177 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise
the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
792 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ...
177 Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, *loc. cit.* If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the
[779] middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

[258 cont.]

174 771 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 177 771 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

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/For information on the lamas and the hutukhtus (Living Buddhas) and their activities see category 792./

778

/For information on sacred objects and places: the spirit-spear, shaman's sword, the arrow of good fortune, the mani-tree and the central fort, the obo, and the chorten chamber, see category 116, pp. 23-50, and pp. 84-144./

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

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hada - a scarf-like ceremonial cloth

hutukhtu - a great lama, a Living Buddha, a tulku

tsamba - flour made from parched ground barley or wheat